FORMATION AND CHANGE OF PUBLIC OPINION

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

THE FIELD AND PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

1. *The scope of social psychology*

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY attempts to determine the character of social behaviour. In a broad way we can say that social behaviour involves one of the four following basic reactions. When one individual meets another individual there is social reaction. Each individual affects the other individuals with whom he comes into contact and is in turn affected by them. Secondly the individual may be reacting to a group. When an individual meets a group of individuals his behaviour is affected. As a counterpart of this we have the reaction of a group of individuals to a single individual. For example, there is the reaction of the group to its leader. Finally there is the reaction of one group of individuals to another group of individuals. Social Psychology endeavours to study the characteristics of all these various forms of social behaviour. It must, however, be borne in mind that Social Psychology studies the individual and not the group itself. It is the task of Sociology to study the characteristics and forms of groups. Social Psychology studies the individual in his relation to his fellow-men.

The world is beset by many ills which may be ascribed to difficulties in interpersonal relationships. Caste prejudice, industrial unrest, crime and delinquency are some of the major social problems. It is the task of social psychology to help us to understand how these problems arise and how they can be controlled and predicted. We can effectively control phenomena if we are able to understand them. The aim of pure science is to help us to understand the phenomena in the universe. This can be attained by first studying the facts of interpersonal behaviour. These facts have to be organised and systematized so that we have a set of basic principles which can be applied in the understanding as well as control and prediction of concrete social problems. Social Psychology thus has both the pure and

applied aspects. It will be our task in this book first to learn
about the basic principles underlying social behaviour and
in the last part of the book concrete social problems will
be analysed so that the reader will have insight into some
of the most difficult and persistent social problems con-
fronting us.

In our search for basic principles we will be confronted
first by the problem of motives : Why do human beings
interact with each other ? Does the biological equipment of
man necessitate social interaction ? Closely associated with
this is the problem of social incentives. A discussion of
these two problems will lead us on to the problem of
socialization : How are human beings socialized ? What is
the role of learning in socialization ? This will help us to
understand the psychological basis of the most impressive
social phenomena viz., social stability and social change.
The social psychologist has gradually discovered that human
behaviour is largely a product of the behaviour of other
men. We shall learn why human beings prefer social stabi-
lity to instability, the well-worn path to the unchartered
new paths.

Another very important development in social psychology
concerns the problem of the formation, change and measure-
ment of social attitudes. These investigations have helped
us to understand the way in which a person perceives his
group and other groups. They also help us to understand
how prejudices arise and why they resist the call of idealism
on the one hand and the stark realities on the other. We
will also study the methods adopted to study public opinion
in the recent years. Public opinion research has advanced
considerably. In brief we shall have to study such funda-
mental processes as how the individual perceives his social
environment, how he learns his social behaviour and how
he achieves his social goals.

As indicated earlier after a study of the basic processes
and after gleaning the basic principles of social behaviour
we shall try to apply them to the concrete social problems.

2. Definition of social psychology

The description of the several problems studied by social
psychology should enable us to formulate a tentative defini-

tion of the subject.   In a broad way it can be realized that
this discipline is on the borderland between the two
branches of knowledge — Sociology and Psychology.
Instead of looking upon it as a branch of psychology some
thinkers even go to the extent of looking upon social psy-
chology as a branch of knowledge by itself, as a special
science by itself.   Some look upon it as a discipline that
engages itself in the study of those problems of social life
which are not adequately studied by either sociology or
psychology.   It is asserted that it fills the gap between the
two sciences and the analogy is put forward that social
psychology is to sociology and psychology what bio-chemist-
ry is to biology and chemistry.

   Though such extreme position may not give us an
accurate picture of the scope and task of social psychology,
there is no doubt that with the development of this branch
of psychology, there is a considerable change in our views
of what was called 'human nature'.   The rapid strides
made by cultural anthropology have also helped us to
question a number of our assumptions about human be-
haviour.   It is now evident that there can be no group
life apart from the individual human beings and that no
individual human being can exist as such apart from the
group in which he lives.   It is the task of the social psy-
chologist to study the relationship between the individual
human being and his society.   We now realize the impor-
tance of the concept of interaction.   Behaviour is largely
determined by the interaction of men with men.

   We may, therefore, define social psychology as the
branch of knowledge which studies the relationships arising
out of the interaction of individuals with each other in
social situations.   In brief it deals with thinking, feeling
and acting of the individual in society.

3.   Social situation and social behaviour

In order to understand this definition it is now necessary
for us to explain the terms social situation and social
behaviour.   A social situation consists of the various visual,
auditory and other stimuli lived through by the individ-
uals.   It also involves besides the present perceptions, the
attitudes as well as the revival of past experiences.   Thus

a mere analysis of the separate stimuli will not help us to understand the social situation. An example may clarify the point. A boy of eight or ten may be hit by his friend. There may even be some contusion. The pain may not be felt at all or even if felt, the boy may laugh over it. It is possible that a few hours later the same boy may have been accidentally hit by his brother or sister at home. The immediate response may be a loud cry, tears, abuse of the sibling, complaint to the mother. The stimulus may be more or less the same but the response is absolutely different. The difference in behaviour can be understood only by the realization of the difference in the social situation. You cannot cry or complain when you are hit by a playmate. This is the social code. On the other hand sibling rivalry can be satisfied by loud cries and loud complaints. This is permitted in the home. Thus we find that social behaviour is determined not merely by the physical stimuli but also by the rules and codes. Social behaviour is a reciprocal interplay of personalities. It must, however, be realized that not all reactions of persons to each other are social response. It is possible that we may avoid collision with a person on the footpath just as we avoid a lamp post. It is converted from non-social to social interaction if one or both smile or exclaim 'pardon me' or 'I am sorry'. This depends on the social conditions which have moulded the individual through his life history. In other words it involves the traditions, customs and standards of value. It is the task of social psychology to trace the situations which have operated to socialize the individual. Social behaviour implies interaction between or among persons. But it must not be understood that social interaction always involves face to face contacts. Social behaviour may also arise indirectly through the medium of symbols. Objects or signs may have social values. The sign 'Halt and Proceed' leads to social behaviour. We react to it in the same way as we would have reacted to a policeman in uniform speaking those words. We know that if we disregard the sign and dash forwards on our cycle we may be caught by a constable a few yards ahead. Similarly written and pictorial advertisements vastly influence human behaviour. More people buy the soap which is advertised as the 'Soap used by millions in India', though the 'classes' and

socially superior may give up using it. Verbal or non-verbal symbols serve as stimuli and lead to social reactions though there may be no human beings in the situation. This makes it difficult to differentiate between persons and objects as social stimuli. An object may become a social stimulus if it becomes symbolic of interaction.

Consequently we may look upon social psychology as a *basic* social science. The other social sciences like Economics, Political Science, Sociology and Law confine themselves to specific forms of social institutions. Social psychology is a basic social science in that it is concerned with every aspect of the individual's behaviour in society. It may be broadly defined as the science of the behaviour of the individual in society, or as the science of the social behaviour of the individual.

4. *Social and non-social situations*

Before we proceed further it may be desirable to distinguish somewhat more clearly between social and non-social situations on the one hand and social and non-social behaviour on the other hand. It is obvious that social situation involves the presence of other persons. But as we have already seen social behaviour involves not only face-to-face situations, but it also involves symbols which lead to psychological events connected with people. The traffic sign is a social situation. It involves the social effects of its observance and non-observance. It also implies the extent to which the individual has been socialized. The famous parable associated with Kanakadasa, a medieval Karnatak saint, may be recalled in this connection. The story goes that the Guru gave a plantain to each of the disciples and asked them to eat it in a place where nobody observed them. All excepting Kanakadasa returned after consuming the plantain. Each reported that he went to a place where there was no human being and ate it so that nobody could observe. When Kanakadasa was asked why he was unable to find a suitable place, he replied that wherever he went he found that he was in the presence of God and so he had to return with the plantain. Similarly a properly socialized individual will obey the law regarding the use of a lamp for his cycle after dusk whether the minion

of law is in sight or not. Thus social behaviour arises not
only when we are in the presence of others, it also arises
in the absence of people but when the situation involves
reference to others. Similarly when we are alone we are
often influenced by what other people might think of us or
would like us to do or would like us not to do. The young
man who chooses a particular tie to match his shirt and
hat and the young woman who chooses a particular blouse
to match her sari are influenced not merely by considera-
tions of aesthetic taste but also by what other members of
their group would comment about their choice when they
meet them later. Thus even when one is alone he may
be affected by the psychological presence of others. Simi-
larly, though not as frequently, we may be in company of
others and yet not be reciprocally reactive to them. This
is one of the characteristic features of urbanization. In the
rural atmosphere the neighbours react socially to one
another. But in the apartment houses in Bombay or Cal-
cutta and even in some of the other big cities, people may
live as neighbours for a long time, they may perceive each
other several times and yet be total strangers to each other.
We do not react socially to each person who sits in the
same bus or travels by the same ' local ' train. On the other
hand individuals may react socially to animals and even
plants and inanimate objects. We are familiar with the
affectionate way in which people play with their pets.
They may also dominate over them. The child may
' abuse ' the table against which he knocks himself or
' swear ' at the stone that trips him. Even to-day some
people become frightened when rains fail and attribute
the failure to the anger of the gods or they might undertake
' Parjanya Japa ' to influence the clouds to rain.

5. Social psychology and other sciences

Our appreciation of the scope and problems of social
psychology will become more clear if we consider its rela-
tionship to other sciences.

Every human being is born into two worlds : the physical
world and the social world. He has to learn about the
world around him so that he can survive and contribute
his mite towards the survival of the human race. He starts

as a psycho-physical organism with the biological equipment for survival. But he is such a helpless individual that unless he is protected during prolonged infancy there is very little chance of his survival. Thus the social influences have a very important bearing on the growth of the individual. Still General Psychology studies the individual without reference to his social environment. Any deviation caused by the influence of the social environment is merely looked upon as something contributing to variability. These are merely disturbing influences which have to be pierced through in order to discover the underlying laws of behaviour and experience. The aim of General Psychology is to establish laws of behaviour which are not affected by the differences in upbringing. The fundamental laws of motivation, perception, learning, memory, thinking and so on are universal to all human beings irrespective of the culture in which they are brought up. Thus general psychology considers the individual in the abstract. On the other hand since social psychology deals with the experience and behaviour of the individual in relation to the social stimulus situations, we find that what is irrelevant to general psychology becomes very significant to social psychology. It studies man in his concrete social and cultural setting. As we have seen above there are practically no situations which are without a social significance. Hunger is a biological need. But how the individual eats, what he eats, when he eats are all determined by the group in which he lives, particularly the group in which he was brought up. Studies in racial differences in intelligence show that it is very difficult to determine to what extent these differences are due to biological equipment and to what extent they are due to rich or poor social stimulation. Considered from this angle, it is clear that social psychology is a necessary complement to general psychology. The full significance of the laws of behaviour cannot be understood unless the study of general psychology is supplemented by a study of social psychology. It must not, however, be thought that the laws of social psychology are different from the laws of general psychology. They are identical. ' Social perception ' and ' social learning ' are not different from the perception or learning in the non-social situations. From this point of view it may be asserted

that social psychology applies the general principles to social interactions.

We may now consider briefly the relation of social psychology to sociology. Sociology is the science which studies the development and principles of social organization and generally group behaviour as distinct from the behaviour of the individuals in the group. It is concerned with the structure and organization of groups. The group is its unit of study. It studies the origin and development of groups, the means by which a group endures, how it imposes its own discipline on the members and demands their compliance. It also studies how groups and social institutions change. For example, it not only studies the family as a group, it also studies how it has changed from time to time. Social Psychology on the other hand is concerned with the individual, how he interacts with other individuals and group of individuals. Its scope is more limited. It studies only the psychological factors involved in the formation of groups. From another point of view it is basic to sociology. Psychological factors play a very important part in the formation, development and change of social institutions. Suggestibility, imitation, loyalty, fear, norms. etc., explain the persistence as well as change in social practices. As Maciver and Page put it, " When we study the nature of the behaving individuals, the structure of the individual consciousness which expresses itself in social relationships, we are taking the psychological point of view. When we study the relationships themselves we take the sociological point of view. Both sciences are concerned with different aspects of an indivisible reality. Individuals cannot be understood apart from their relations with one another ; the relations cannot be understood apart from the units (or terms) of the relationship " (1.23). We may say that while the sociologist and anthropologist are concerned with the *pattern* of social interaction, the social psychologist is concerned with the *process* of social interaction. The social psychologist studies how the individual is socialized, how he utilizes and expresses the social patterns, how he builds within himself the attitudes and opinions of the family and the group in which he has been brought up and in which he lives, and how in turn he leaves his impress more or less effectively on the social

patterns.   To quote Murphy " Social psychology is the study of the way in which the individual becomes a member of, and functions in, a social group " (2.16).

We can now proceed to study the relationship between social psychology and anthropology.   In a broad way anthropology is defined as the science of man.   It involves the biological as well as the socio-cultural aspects.   Man is not only a social animal living in groups, but he is also a unique animal possessing the ability to speak and the ability to symbolize, abstract and generalize.   Because of these two abilities he is able to communicate his skills and knowledge to his fellow-human beings and descendants.   He transmits not only his skills and products of skills to his descendants, he also transmits his beliefs, customs, values and social institutions.   It is this totality we call culture.   " Culture stands for the sum total of human behavior, verbal and non-verbal and its products, material and non-material " (3.vi).   According to Majumdar and Madan, Socio-Cultural Anthropology studies four types of human activities : i. activities that provide satisfaction of bio-psychic needs like hunger and sex by wresting from nature food, clothing and shelter — *the economic organization of a group* ; ii. activities which have led to the *social organization* of a group so that by organizing group effort he is able to exploit nature effectively to satisfy the bio-psychic needs and also to satisfy his affectional needs.   " Family, marriage and such other social institutions provide the medium in which and through which social life exists.   And political institutions supply the controlling factors which hold social life at the useful level of inter-action " (3.vii) ; iii. activities and attitudes towards the unseen presence of supernatural powers — *the magico-religious organization of a group* ; iv. activities connected with the expression of beauty, *the aesthetic activities of a group*.   Anthropology studies the patterns of culture in the various part of the world, particularly among the preliterate and pre-urban groups.   It uses concepts like ' culture ' ' custom ' and ' mores ' to explain the differences between the various groups.   Consequently some anthropologists go and live in the group and study the pattern of the culture of the group.   On the other hand some anthropologists make a comparative analysis of the specific reports and try to formulate laws regarding the growth, functioning

and change of human societies. Although it is recognized that the bio-psychic needs of man are at the basis of group organization, the cultural anthropologists point out that the culture itself is not psychologically conditioned. Social life is not tied down to the biological and psychological level. Social life " emerges out to attain a new level, the social level, which is more or less super-psychic and super-organic ... A society is a system of social relations ; these social relations are the products of history ; they are held together by moral values and not natural forces. Therefore, a society is a social and a moral system " (3.ii). The culture determinists like Kroeber look upon culture as a super-organic, super-psychic and super-social force which determines how an individual behaves and what he values and cherishes. There is no doubt that the individual is fashioned by the group and that the vast majority of the individuals in any given group are of the conforming type. But it is also realized that some individuals do contribute to the change of culture.

While it is the task of social and cultural anthropology to study the patterns of culture, the task of social psychology is to study the way in which the individual in a given group acquires the culture. Thus we find that while anthropology makes use of culture and custom as concepts to understand patterns of social organization, it is the task of social psychology to analyse the processes underlying these concepts. It endeavours to determine how customs are found and transmitted from generation to generation.

Attention must be drawn to another aspect regarding the relation of social psychology and anthropology. Ruth Benedict in her *Patterns of Culture* and Margaret Mead in her *Sex and Temperament*, reported about traits of behaviour in six primitive groups. These studies showed that it is rather precarious to speak of ' human nature ' as something purely biological without any kind of socio-cultural influence. Behaviour traits like aggressiveness and temperamental differences are conditioned by upbringing. The norms of the group determine whether aggressiveness and competitiveness are approved or disapproved. The Zuni Red Indian of New Mexico is affable, generous, sober and inoffensive, the Dobuans of New Guinea are highly competitive, aggressive, treacherous and suspicious, while

the Kwakiutl of Alaska are boasting, grandiloquent and ready to ridicule others (4).

Regarding differences in masculinity and femininity Margaret Mead reports : "...the Arapesh ideal is the mild, responsive man married to the mild, responsive woman ; the Mundugumor ideal is the violent aggressive man married to the violent aggressive woman.   In the third tribe, the Tchambuli, we found a genuine reversal of the sex-attitudes of our own culture, with the woman the dominant, impersonal, managing partner, the man the less responsible and emotionally dependent person " (5.279).   These investigations affected considerably the thinking of the social psychologists.   We will have occasion to discuss this matter in detail when we are dealing with the problem of socialization.   Striking contrasts in the behaviour of Indian tribal groups will show to what extent methods of upbringing and the social norms will influence the personality traits.

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THE METHODS
OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

1. *The three main stages in the development of a scientific study*

Wayne Dennis has indicated three stages in the development
of any scientific study (1. 3-7). In scientific development
the first is the arm chair phase, the stage of theorizing. This
started long ago with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle as social
theorists. In one sense of the word theorizing is a perma-
nent feature as well as the first stage in development of any
science. The second stage involves the observation and
recording of data ; sometimes to collect factual information
and sometimes to test the theories propounded. Broadly
this stage started in the middle of the nineteenth century.
" The actual beginning of *experimental social psychology*
seems to have been the experimental study of suggestion,
first put on a scientific basis by Braid between 1841 and 1860
and extended and systematized by the Nancy School (espe-
cially Burnheim) and demonstrated by Binet and Fere to be
an integral part of experimental Psychology " (2-4). This
stage is characterized by the relatively isolated work of a
few individuals. In the third stage laboratories are set up
and research institutes are started in order to have continu-
ous programmes of research. Thus " the establishment of
research organizations is an important landmark in the deve-
lopment of any scientific field" (1.16). Dennis shows that im-
portant studies regarding social behaviour were carried out
in the child development research institutes which were
established at Yale, Iowa and other American Universities
around 1917. Similarly the animal laboratories also did
considerable scientific work in the field of social psychology
of animals. Research units to study adult social behaviour
started with the founding of institutes of public opinion
since 1935. After the Second World War a number of
research centres were started to study Group Dynamics in
several countries of the world. In India Gardner Murphy

of the United States was invited to get several studies started in the various parts of the country under the social tensions study scheme (3). The Planning Commission has also started the study of social issues under its research programme. But it must be confessed that these studies constitute only the second stage in scientific development as they are sporadic and limited to individuals. Social psychology can come of age in our country only when regular institutes are founded to conduct investigations in a continuous way.

The text-books of social psychology reveal the development in the knowledge. The text-books written by McDougall (4) and Ross (5) in 1908 contain a good deal of theorizing. We find a distinct change in the treatment of the subject since the publication of Allport's book in 1924 (6). There is a continuous increase in objectivity and reliance not on one's opinion or casual observations but on empirical method, based on scientific observation and experimentation. We can now describe briefly some of the empirical and experimental methods used to collect data in social psychology with some observations on their efficacy and limitations.

2. *The observational method*

Obviously not all social situations can be studied experimentally. Consequently this method is even now a very important method to collect data in social psychology. Observational method involves considerable training in how to observe. It also involves long, systematic hours of actual observation. The use of a stop watch will further increase the reliability and objectivity since the observer can note the exact duration of social interaction observed. The use of recording sheets and check lists are of immense aid. The efficacy of observation method is further increased by the use of (a) time-sampling technique, (b) by simultaneous observation by several trained observers, (c) by fixing 'observation mirrors' so that the individuals observed do not know that they are being observed, (d) by the use of ear phones and tape recorders so that all the sounds and words used in the interaction are carefully noted and (e) by the use of motion pictures so that the situation could be studied more carefully afterwards. It is needless to give

illustrations of all these ways of increasing the objectivity and the reliability of observations since the results reported in journals and text-books are all derived from such studies.

Instead of describing spontaneous group activities the investigator may deliberately introduce or withdraw certain persons and observe the changes in interaction process. This is one of the methods used to study the influence of the leader's personality on group activity. Steps may also be taken to record and compare differences in accomplishment by giving the individual certain tasks.

3. The development method

In one sense this can be looked upon as a modification of the observational method. It consists in studying the development of social behaviour among children from birth to maturity ; groups of children of varying ages are systematically observed when they are playing, quarrelling and fighting. By the method of observation it has been found that the play of young children tends to be individualistic. But with increasing age the social aspect becomes more important. To give a few examples, Shirley (7) found that from twelve to fifteen months play is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. From eighteen to twentyfour dramatic and imitative motor play was observed. Van Alstyne (8) found that on 90% of the time the two year old child played by himself. But the five year old child solicits the participation of other children about 70% of the time. Group games and organized play become more common among the school children from ten years onwards.

But development method may involve more complicated techniques as well. Tests and laboratory methods may be used to measure the stage of development. Bridges (9) has constructed a scale to measure the social and emotional development of nursery school children. At this age social development shows itself first in imitating another child's actions, words, laughter etc. The responsiveness to other children is gradually followed by the assimilation of the mores of the nursery school : learning to take turns, giving up a toy at a fair request, defending one's rights to one's toys or place, indicating the errors of others, helping others and so on. There are also the socially unacceptable activities

like interfering with or destroying others' work, pushing or pulling others, complaining of others to the adult, staying out of group games and so on.

4. *Interview method*

This method has been used extensively in recent years to get information regarding the individual who is typical or extreme in his outlook regarding social issues. Nevitt Samford, for example, used the interview technique to find the differences between a man high on Ethnocentrism scale and another low on it. In the same book we find the second and fourth parts dealing with the material obtained by interviews regarding prejudice (10). Several attempts have been made in recent years to improve the objectivity and usefulness of the method of interview. By ' standardizing ' the interview it is possible to have quantitative treatment of the data obtained. Standard charts are devised to record both verbal and non-verbal behaviour in brief interviews. Tensions and distractions manifest themselves in changes of posture etc., which constitute a useful supplement to the verbal data obtained. The interview situation itself offers interesting problems for social psychology. Reference may be made here to the development of ' non-directive ' techniques in interviewing in the field of counselling (11) as well as in the Hawthorne studies in Industrial Psychology (12).

Maccoby and Maccoby look upon an interview as " a face-to-face verbal interchange, in which one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information or expression of opinion or belief from another person or persons " (13. Vol. I. 449). Standardized as well as unstandardized interviews are extensively used in social sciences. The unstandardized interview is more flexible and encourages true-to-life replies. But it is not as reliable as the standardized interview with pre-determined questions. While the former gives flexibility the latter gains in quantification. What method is chosen depends upon the problem on hand and the design of the investigation.

An interview involves an interpersonal relationship. This implies that the respondent perceives the interviewer as having some status and some power, in other words, there is role relationship. Studies have shown that the inter-

viewer must be trained to possess some sophistication about the topic on which he has to conduct the interview. But he should also not give the impression that he is an expert. He should rather appear to be a person seeking additional information. Secondly he should be detached ; he should not be a member of the power hierarchy to which the respondent belongs. If he establishes close personal relationships with some of the respondents the others will become suspicious. This implies that the interviewer should retain a certain amount of reserve, he should be dignified and must make it clear that the interview is serious. At the same time he should show genuine interest in what the respondent is saying, while not revealing his own attitudes nor indicating approval or disapproval.

5. *Clinical method*

This method is used for the diagnosis and treatment of various disorders. It is observation and examination for diagnostic purposes. It is usually a combination of testing, interview and case history. It is essentially an individual method. This is no doubt a serious limitation to its value. But adequate study of a few cases may increase our insight to a considerable degree, e.g., the psycho-analytical findings. As we have seen above the study of the psychoanalytic interview situation led to the recognition of the importance of interpersonal relationship (14). It was Freud's Clinical work that led to the discoveries of very great significance in social interaction. He showed the fundamental significance of the need for affection in the formation and growth of the individual. Need for affection and need for security play a very significant part in the promotion of harmonious social relationships as well as in their retardation. The other great psychiatrist, Adler, who also used the clinical method emphasised the significance of what he called ' social feeling ' which is of paramount importance in social interaction. " In order to know how a man thinks, we have to examine his relationship to his fellowmen... We cannot comprehend the psychic activities without at the same time understanding these social relationships (15.25)". " The communal need regulates all relationships between men. The communal life of man

antedates the individual life of man. In the history of human civilization no form of life whose foundations were not laid communally can be found. No human being ever appeared except in a community of human beings " (15. 26-27). It is the clinical study of the neurotic which made it clear to Adler " that no adequate man can grow up without cultivating a deep sense of his fellowship in humanity and practising the art of being a human being " (15.31). Thus we find that the significance of the concept of *socialization*, a comparatively new topic in social psychology, is as much due to the clinical work of the psychiatrists and psychologists as to the field work of the anthropologists.

Before concluding this section attention may be drawn to a few other concepts developed by Freud which have had profound influence on our understanding of social relationships. His concept of fixation, for example, shows how there is an arrest in socialization and consequently in the development of personality. This corresponds in a large measure to the concept of detachment in the Bhagawad Gita. Fixation results when there is no detachment. Detachment is a sign of the development of personality. As Freud pointed out fixation is the arrest or inhibition of development. It also involves regression (16.348-350). Thus the individual with fixation is unable to adjust himself. He reacts at a childish level. His social relationships will be deficient. Similarly the concept of super-ego is also of great significance to the study of social behaviour. " Throughout life the interaction between a person's real ego and his ego-ideal continues to reflect to some extent his relations with the social world about him ; more particularly it always corresponds in some measure to the relations between a child and its parents in so far as we obey them and live up to the standards that they set us, punishment and disapproval when we fail to do so. We, as children, on our part expect love, praise, help, and protection from our parents when we are ' good ', and fear punishment and blame when we are ' naughty '. Precisely these mutual relations are to be found, again mirrored in the interactions between the ego and the ego-ideal, in as much as this latter represents an incorporation or introjection of our parents moral attitude " (17.65). It is needless to give further illustrations of the Freudian concepts

developed out of the clinical method which are of great value to the understanding of social interactions. Concepts like identification and projection are of immense value.

6. *Questionnaire method*

While the interview method and clinical method are very useful in testing individuals, it is the questionnaire method that is chosen for group investigations. A questionnaire is a means of presenting a series of standardized stimuli to elicit certain kinds of responses. It is a highly standardized instrument and not a mere assemblage of questions to collect information. Its aim is generally to discover the preferences of an individual. " In the use of these procedures the emphasis is upon attributing the response to some conditions within the individual which is more or less enduring in nature. This is to say that the responses are elicited and studied as indices of some fundamental predisposition within the individual which functions as a determiner of his preferences " (18.321).

The questionnaire method has been extensively used to ascertain public opinion. Government as well as business and industry have been making use of this method to assess opinion. Considerable amount of research work has been done regarding the framing of questions, sampling, analysis of data and other aspects.

Two principal types of questions used are the *poll* question and the *open-end* question. The poll question is provided with a set of alternative answers and the respondent chooses one of them. The author used the following question in one of his investigations : " Caste system should remain, be modified, be abolished " (19.174). In all such questions the respondent is requested to choose one of the stated alternatives. " The poll question developed naturally out of the methodology of psychophysics in the experimental laboratory and out of psychological testing, in both of which the subject was called upon to respond in terms of fixed categories — ' higher ' or ' heavier ' in weight comparisons, ' Yes ' or ' No ' on test forms " (20. 277). On the other hand the open-end question is framed to elicit a free response without providing any alternative responses. An open-end question may be phrased as follows:

" What do you think of the Congress Party ? " or " What do you think the Government should do to settle the Kashmir Problem ?" The significant feature of such questions is that the respondent is free to answer as he pleases. " The poll question came out of the experimental and testing laboratory ; the open-end question may be said to have developed from the psychological clinic " (20.277). But the advantage of the poll type question is that the responses may be tabulated easily. It admits of quantitative and statistical treatment which is of immense help to understand the problem under investigation.

We may now refer briefly to the fundamental problem of sampling. Obviously we cannot study the whole population, like, e.g., the census in India once in ten years when every family and every individual in the country is enumerated. This is a very difficult and costly method of study. That is why the Central Government have now established the National Sample Survey Unit which studies a small but very representative sample, as frequently as possible. This is the method which your mother uses when she is cooking a pot of rice or dal. When she wants to find if the rice is cooked she takes a ladle, stirs up the whole pot and then takes a few grains and tests whether they are cooked. If they are cooked she infers that the whole quantity is cooked, otherwise she lets the pot boil for some more time. This is the method which the engineer uses when he wants to study the strength of some material used and what the doctor uses to determine the blood count of a patient. Only samples are studied. We must first know what population we are studying — all people in a City or the State or the country or only some people like unskilled labour or business community or College students etc. After defining the population the next step is to get the right sample from the population. The fundamental requisite is that the sample should be *representative*, unbiased, e.g., Statistics computed on the basis of mail questionnaires are subject to bias. Those who reply mail questionnaires are not typical of the group. *Random sampling* procedures, where every person of the population has as much chance of being included as any other, are satisfactory but this is a highly technical problem. The sample may have to be a *stratified* random sample when,

e.g., it has to include people of various occupations and educational levels. Obviously a sample from professional group cannot be a proper sample of all the adults. Mere size of the sample will not guarantee its adequacy. The Chief Minister or Prime Minister may get hundreds of letters and telegrams in favour of a legislative proposal or against it. This may be a biased sample. There are thousands who have not expressed their opinion by letters or telegrams. They may think otherwise. Further the precision of a sample does not increase proportionately with the size of the sample ; it only increases in proportion to the square root of the number of cases. Cantril has shown that a small carefully stratified sample of 200 people in New York State predicted the results of State Governor's election just as well as a sample of 2,800 or 48,000, while the number of people who actually voted were more than four millions (21.151).

Finally we may indicate briefly the use of *breakdowns* in the analysis of the responses to questionnaires. The percentage of responses of the whole group reveals some characteristics. The psychological and sociological ' determinates ' of opinions can be obtained by the breakdown technique, by getting the percentage of responses of the sub-classes on the basis of age, sex, education, income, caste etc. What kind of breakdown is used depends on the particular hypothesis to be tested. " The breakdown is one of the few tools which provides an approach to the problem of causation. It gives us a method of attack on the questions of relative importance of two or more variables. It also furnishes a foothold for a study of the simultaneous relationship between variables, when opinions are held constant " (21.175).

7. *Scaling methods*

Several methods have been evolved to measure attitudes which play such an important part in social interactions. Attitudes are more or less enduring organizations of perceptual, motivational and emotional processes. They involve expectancy of a certain kind of experience on the one hand and a certain readiness to respond on the other. But they cannot be observed. So they can be measured

only indirectly.   Measurement requires a scale.   " In essence, the method of scaling requires that the individual react verbally with expressions of approval, or disapproval, agreement or disagreement to a set of carefully standardized items or propositions.   The pattern and summation of reactions to the set of items provide a way of inferring the individual's opinion or attitude concerning the object to which the items refer and permit the individual to be assigned a position along a quantitative scale of pro-ness or con-ness " (20.210).   There are many methods to prepare the scales, but essentially they involve the assignment of a particular position to a given individual along a continuum indicating approval or disapproval.   From the pattern of statements endorsed by the individual we can infer whether he is favourable, neutral or unfavourable toward the topic investigated. Thurstone (1929) made use of the method of equal-appearing intervals to prepare scales.   Likert (1932) made use of the method of summated ratings. Guilford (1931) made use of the method of paired comparison to prepare a scale regarding nationality.   During the Second World War, Guttman (1941) used ' Scalogram ' device for ascertaining the degree of consistency.   Bogardus (1925) devised what is sometimes called group-order method to measure attitudes towards nationalities.   This method has been adopted in our country to measure attitudes towards various castes and creeds.   All these methods involve very careful selection of test items.   The method followed by Thurstone involves the using of Judges and then preparing the scales.

8. *The experimental method*

The experimental method involves isolation, variation and repetition.   It involves the control of conditions by the experimenter.   The experimenter observes accurately what happens under certain known conditions.   It is obvious that the problems of social interaction are very complex. Consequently it is very difficult to control the conditions. Often it is difficult to ascertain the exact contribution of each condition.   In spite of these limitations several carefully planned researches have been conducted.   We have now considerable body of knowledge concerning social

interaction on the basis of experimental work. The attention of the reader may be drawn to the Chicago symposi um (22). The experimental researches have given us some insight into the techniques of social control. " The growth of our insights in Social Psychology as the result of recent laboratory experiments on group panic ; on democratic, authoritarian, and laissez faire leadership ; on group frustration ; on the operation of prejudice in voting, etc., lead us to the conviction that this same spurt will take place in the development of a systematic social psychology of group behaviour " (22.22).

The method generally used in social investigation is the control group method. Two groups, a control group and an experimental group are used. As far as possible these two groups are equated in numbers, sex, education and other variables. Sometimes intelligence tests, attitude tests, interests tests and such other tests may be used to equate the two groups. Then they are subjected to unequal stimulation. One group may be exposed to a particular stimulation while the other is not. The two groups are tested again and the resulting inequalities in performance or interests or attitudes are attributed to the variable introduced.

When it is not possible to secure two initially equal groups we can measure the effect of changed conditions on the basis of the difference between the initial and final performance of the same group. If we want to study the effect of propaganda we may, for instance take a group, give it an attitude test to find the initial performance, then expose the group to the propaganda, finally give the attitude test once again and see if the propaganda has any effect. There are many ways of designing the experiment to suit the particular problem and the group available. If we want to know the effect of propaganda against war we may give a test to measure the attitude towards war. On the basis of this test we can take one group that is moderately pacific and another that is moderately militaristic. After exposing the two groups to the propaganda we may again measure the attitude and determine the effect of propaganda against war on the pacifists and militarists.

We may also refer here to the important experiment designed by Sherif to determine the way in which social

norms operate (23). Making use of the autokinetic effect and by introducing social factors Sherif demonstrated that the ranges and norms of different individuals working at the same time converge. This work, in effect, is a study of the formation of a norm in laboratory situation. It showed the basic psychological processes involved in the establishment of social norms. We shall have occasion to deal with the problem of social norms as well as the experimental design of Sherif's work in a later chapter.

Long ago F. H. Allport introduced experimental methods to study the influence of the presence of others on one's performance. He showed the effects of what he called *social facilitation*. He studied the quality and quantity of output when an individual worked alone and when he worked with others. Even as early as 1920, he found that individuals making judgments of pleasantness and unpleasantness of odours tend to avoid extreme judgments when they are in the presence of others, whereas they tend to give extreme judgments when they are tested alone (6).

9. *An estimate of the methods used in social psychology*

Some general observations regarding research methods in social psychology may be made before concluding the chapter. Research is done to solve a problem or to test the solutions already suggested. This involves making observations. It also involves the use of statistical methods to classify and get the full significance of the data collected. Some problems do not involve experimentation. They do not involve the control of variables. In order to determine the relationship between socio-economic status and the type of opinion regarding an issue we cannot conduct an experiment. We cannot have a control either over the socio-economic status of individuals or over their opinions. Neither of them can be manipulated by the experimenter. The investigator can only study what opinions a given section of the people hold and find out if they are related to the socio-economic status. Thus an experiment involves a control over one or more variables. The variables which the experimenter can manipulate or change are called the

independent variables. The essence of experimentation consists in varying the independent variable and observing the variations in the dependent variable. What is the effect that the independent variable has upon the dependent variable ? In other terms the experimenter varies the stimulus and studies the changes in the response. It was believed that the experimenter must hold all variables (independent) constant, except one. But with the introduction of more efficient statistical methods and with the development of experimental designs, it is now possible to handle several independent variables in the same design. It must, however, be realized that it is very difficult to isolate social conditions and vary them. Further many of the social conditions cannot be duplicated in the laboratory. As Festinger remarks, " The Controlled Laboratory experiment is not an attempt to duplicate in miniature, a real-life situation. It is rather an attempt to set up the pure case. In other words, it is an attempt to take a factor or cluster of factors which we have good reason to believe are important, and systematically vary them in a context where other factors are well controlled. By such means we may begin to build up a body of knowledge concerning the precise functional relationships between these factors and the behaviour of human beings in social situations " (22.34).

Thus to be able to conduct an experiment the investigator must already have considerable insight into the complex of the social situations and social behaviour. Consequently observations under uncontrolled conditions, and field investigations under less strictly controlled conditions are very necessary pre-requisites for the effective use of the powerful technique of laboratory investigation. We must also not forget that social situations are so complex that observational methods and field investigations may very well be permanent features of social psychology irrespective of the developments in the field of laboratory experimentation.

That experimental studies in social psychology are of immense value not only theoretically but also practically may be seen from the two lines of work associated with the name of Lewin : *action research and group dynamics.* Lewin's work has shown the importance of social factors in the various aspects of psychological life. Studies regarding

conflict, level of aspiration, recall and resumption of activities clearly revealed the effects of social influences. Lewin realised that a scientific study of various social problems confronting man like prejudice, facing oppression, conflict in industry, may lead not only to an understanding of the social processes but also to the solution of some of the social problems (24). It is this faith that led him on to action research. There are several social agencies and civic groups which are concerned with the elimination and prevention of social problems. By co-operating with these social agencies Lewin showed that the social scientist can deliberately manipulate the process of social change in real-life conditions and measure the relevant variables. By this linking of research with social action Lewin felt that the social scientist can obtain access to basic social processes which otherwise he would be unable to study. The social scientist is not in a position to create social change on his own initiative. But by co-operating with social agencies he can attempt to produce social change. By emphasising action research Lewin stimulated the social Psychologists to carry their experimental procedures to factories and offices and even kitchens.

While *by action research* Lewin related action and research, by *group dynamics* he related experimental study and theoretical analysis. He wanted to bring together social psychology, sociology and cultural anthropology so that there is description of social life, theoretical analysis of group life as well as experimental study of social inter-action. Lewin showed that the concept of *group* is not a mystical concept, but something concrete, that groups could be handled experimentally. He demonstrated that by experimental studies of small groups a good deal of light could be thrown on large-scale social processes. " The essence of a group is not the similarity or dissimilarity of its members, but their interdependence. A group can be characterized as a ' dynamical whole ' which means that a change in the state of any subpart changes the state of any other subpart. The degree of interdependence of the sub-parts of members of the group varies all the way from a ' loose ' mass to a compact unit " (25.54). Membership of a group presupposes identification with the group and an interest in the promotion of the goals of the group

through co-operation. A group may be thought of in terms of its external relations, relations with other groups and the environment or in terms of its internal relations, relations among the members composing it. A good deal of work has been done regarding the latter aspect while the external relations are practically unstudied by the psychologist, though the sociologist and anthropologist have been concerned about them. Further references to the actual results of the experimental work with small groups will be made in a later chapter.

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THE INDIVIDUAL, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

1. *Some preliminary remarks*

AS WE HAVE seen above social psychology is the study of persons in their interactions with one another. Every human infant is born into a society which has a cultural pattern of its own. The infant is an organism, with a body having its structure and function. The human being is the product of a long evolutionary history. The infant organism is in many ways like the other infants, because the bodies of all of them have much the same structure and function. Still no two human infants are exactly alike. This unique organism is born into a social group, the family. There is interpersonal relationship between the infant and the mother and the other members of the family and some persons outside the family. He cannot survive unless the mother feeds and protects him. The way in which the mother feeds and looks after the child depends upon the cultural group to which she belongs. The people of the family have their own customary ways of doing things, perceiving them and feeling about them. The infant who is a bundle of protoplasm grows and reacts with the other persons in the home and within a few years becomes a typical member of the cultural group. Of course he has his own unique ways of doing things and feeling about them. But he is also a member of the group having acquired most of the customary ways.

Thus social behaviour involves· the three variables : individual, society and culture. This chapter is devoted to a brief description of the problems connected with them so that we will have a proper orientation regarding our task in the rest of the volume.

2. *The individual*

The human infant is an organism with fundamental

physiological processes : the assimilation of food, the respiratory and circulatory functions, the elimination of bodily waste, the neuro-muscular functions which co-ordinate these operations and so on. On the basis of these physiological processes rest certain fundamental drives like hunger, bodily protection and sex. These drives or motives originate from the organic needs of the body and are important for the survival of the individual and the survival of the species. Hence they are called biogenic drives or biogenic motives. Further these are unlearned. As Sherif writes, " No matter what the social setting or ' culture pattern ' may be — imperial or colonial, western or oriental, highly industrial or primitive, leisure class or poverty stricken, Christian or heathen, man eats, drinks, breathes, sleeps and tries to keep warm in order to carry forward the most essential complex of his pre-occupations, living — that is, just keeping alive as a biological organism " (1.19). These are basic needs not only among human beings of all the various nationalities and cultures, but they are also common to the human beings and animals. As the individual grows he acquires various means of satisfying these basic wants. There is another important aspect of the individual, his flexibility, his ability to modify his actions. The ability to learn is thus the other fundamental feature of the organism. This ability also, the human being shares with animals. Adaptability to new situations is something common to all living creatures; only with the increase in the complexity of the nervous system there is an increase in intelligence, the ability to learn, from species to species in the biological evolution. And thus we find that the human being inherits biologically certain constant drives as well as certain flexibility or learning ability. The upper limit to one's ability to learn is something biologically given. Of course, both the actual operation of the basic needs as well as the effectiveness of the ability to learn are conditioned by the social as well as cultural processes. These two sets of the biologically given do not operate in vacuum as the individual is exposed to the environmental influences which modify or affect both of them.* Further there are indivi-

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* The so-called racial, national, class and caste differences exist both regarding the way in which the basic drives are satisfied as well as the

dual differences, variability, not only in intelligence, learn-
ing ability, but also in the strength of drives. This fact is
liable to be ignored since we are impressed by differences
in ability among individuals and by resemblances in basic
drives among human beings. Also, the success in measure-
ment of differences in ability has been considerable in
comparison with the measurement of differences in drives
among human beings. Personality measurement programmes
are largely preoccupied with measuring differences among
individuals regarding traits and temperaments and not
regarding the basic drives themselves. This is a fertile field
for animal psychologists. The experimental work in this
field is to-day confined to the measurement of the strength
of drives among animals in the sense of differences between
the various drives and not in the sense of differences in the
strength of drives between individual animals of one species.

Thus we find that the newborn infant enters the family
equipped with an organic constitution on which are based
the basic drives as well as intelligence and ability to learn.
The growing child makes demands upon his society for his
survival and the society makes demands upon him. In the
process of making his demands and in meeting the demands
made on him, he is socialized. He gradually develops his
personality. His survival depends on the physical care *as
well as* the affection bestowed on him by his mother and
others in the family. By the second year he learns
language and learning this means of communication
increases his inter-relationship and interaction with other
people. Gradually he is given a place (status) in the
family and he takes on certain functions (role). On the

extent of the ability to learn or adaptability or level of intelligence. The
Harijans as well as the tribal people of India have made remarkable pro-
gress within the last quarter of a century. Similarly the coloured people
in America as well as Africa have changed considerably in the same
period. The backward condition of a group within a country or among
the nationalities of the World is due not to biological limitations but to
socio-cultural limitations. It must, however, be noted that there is con-
siderable difference of opinion among Scientists, as among the lay people,
regarding this problem. But the new programmes typical of the mid-twen-
tieth century regarding economic growth as well as educational diffusion
among all nations in the world are bound to have considerable effect on
the vast differences which now exist. The formation of independent
states in Asian as well as African continents is bound to have far reach-
ing consequences within the next half a century, if not earlier.

basis of his role and status he develops specific habits, attitudes and values. In short, he becomes a personality. The helpless bundle of protoplasm becomes a *human being*. As Kimball Young writes " It is from this configuration of family members and others closely associated with them that the social self emerges. The child is not born human or social. He is at the outset an organism belonging to an animal species. It is only through his interplay with his fellows that he gets his ' human nature ' and that combination of acts and thoughts which we label the personality " (2.4).

With the growth in experience and the growth in the acquisition of language there is a growth in internalization. We may disagree with Watson regarding his view that thinking is subvocal talking (3.332-328). But there is no doubt that he drew our attention to a very important aspect in the development of the individual. It is now well recognized that the process of *internalization* both with respect to thinking and with respect to assimilation of attitudes goes on at this time in the life of the child (4). By the second year he starts learning to speak. The child often speaks what he does. Gradually he gives up talking aloud. As Freud has shown, around the age of four and five the process of identification with parents goes on. He adopts the external commands of parents and other adults as his internal laws of command and develops his superego. Both these internalized processes of thinking and conduct are very important elements in the socialization of the child as we shall see later on. Thus in his development the child is affected not only by what the other persons in the family do to control his behaviour, he is also affected by his own thoughts and attitudes, some of which are conscious and some inaccessible to consciousness. In this whole process language plays an important part.

There is yet another aspect of the growth of the individual which must be taken into account. The individual is not only socialized, he also influences others and socializes them. He participates in the society both by being influenced by others and by influencing them. The individual is not only the product of culture he is also the transmitter of culture ; he may even alter it.

3. *The society*

As we have just now seen the individual becomes a personality because of his contact with other human beings within the family and outside. The social act is an inter-action of individuals. The mother-child relationship is the basic social act with which each human being starts. This parent-child relationship, as we shall see below, is something which goes back to animals, birds and even insects. All the various patterns of social interaction start from this basic mother-child social relationship.

The sociologist classifies social interaction into two types: primary and secondary. The family, the play-group, the village neighbourhood are all primary group's. They are characterized by intimate face-to-face contact. " The simplest, the first, the most universal of all forms of associa-tion is that in which a small number of persons meet ' face-to-face ' for companionship, mutual aid, the discussion of some question that concerns them all, or the discovery and execution of some common policy " (5.218). The primary group may be free-functioning and informal as in the play group and friendship or it may be formal as in an inter-view, in the classroom or in the office and factory. In contrast in secondary relations there is formality, specialized group roles as between teachers and students, buyers and sellers, officials and citizens. There is no intimacy. The social interaction . is not between persons but between representatives· of positions in a formal order. As the complexity of society increases the social relationships become more impersonal. In the village every person knows every other person. But in a large city one may not even know one's neighbour or a person living in the next ' flat ' in the same building. The religious organiza-tion, the political party, the state itself are examples of secondary associations. With industrialization and conse-quent·urbanization there is the formation of 'mass society'. Large numbers of people live together as in our modern cities and social relations become impersonal in their relationship to each other. and there is the feeling of loneli-ness. When you go to a theatre by yourself, you feel lonely, though there may be hundreds of people around you. There is no relationship of intimacy. There is a curious

combination of rationality and irrationality in mass society. Advance of industrialization is based on advance in science,. technology and organization. But urbanization leads to impersonal relationships and hence the increase in the influence of suggestion and propaganda. Crowd behaviour becomes an important aspect of mass society. " The impress of mass society upon men and their culture constitutes one of our most crucial problems of personality balance, sense of emotional security and moral use of power " (2.6). We will find that these concepts of primary group and secondary association will be very helpful in studying the basic processes of social interaction.

Similarly the other classification into ' in-group ' and ' out-group ' is also of great value. Sumner used the term ' in-group '. We learn to divide people into the ' we ' and the ' they '. The groups with which we identify ourselves constitute the in-group. The individual develops attitudes of identification with the persons of the family, caste, neighbourhood etc. The persons forming the ' other ' groups are looked upon with fear, suspicion or dislike as groups which are antagonistic to the progress and welfare of ' our ' group. There is *co-operation* with the members of the in-group and *opposition* towards the members of the out-group.

Differentiation of functions is another basic interaction. Varying combinations of these elemental processes of interaction are at the basis of *class* and *caste* differences in society. On the basis of differentiation of functions and the development of specific functions or *roles* in the group, the various modes of social interaction arise. There are the basic differentiations of function in the home which have given rise to the roles of husband and wife, social roles of the sexes, ages etc. Even within the home an individual is assigned a more or less limited and well-defined social role. This is particularly conspicuous in the Indian joint family. The individual learns the behaviour appropriate to that role, as otherwise he will not be socially acceptable. These roles whether within the house or outside in the society at large keep changing and necessitate further learning. With age and circumstance the role changes ; from being a son, a man changes to being a father, from pupil to teacher, from a subordinate to the position of

headship, and from the labourer to the manager.

But we have to bear in mind that the interaction arising out of the social differentiation imperceptibly involves cultural factors also. It is neither possible nor necessary to draw here a hard and fast distinction between the social and cultural aspects. On the other hand this should not lead us to ignore the distinction between the social and cultural aspects.

4. *The social and cultural aspects*

It will be of great advantage for clarity of thinking if we recognize the distinction as well as the relation between the two aspects. Probably the use of specific terms may help to attain this end. We may use the terms *inter-personal* relationship and *socio-cultural relationship* to differentiate between these two kinds of interactions, the former indicating interaction between individuals involving either little or no cultural and institutional factors, and the latter involving them to a high degree. As Lapiere and Farnsworth write : " In the more stable social systems at least, the most important human needs are satisfied through institutional mechanisms ... these mechanisms subordinate momentary considerations to longrun aims. Individual needs of an immediate character are, therefore, generally satisfied in interactional situations of other than the institutional type — in what may be termed ' inter-personal ' situations. The individual needs from which inter-personal situations arise and through which they are organized are often incidental outcomes of institutional membership and are seldom in antagonism to institutional membership. But the pattern of situational interaction is primarily a function of the particular personalities involved in the situation " (6.408). Thus we find that it is necessary for us to bear in mind the distinction between social behaviour which does not involve, or involves very little cultural aspect and that which involves the cultural to a high degree. This distinction is rather hard to appreciate when we are dealing with social behaviour among human beings since no human being can survive if he is not brought up in a family, in a group with its own cultural heritage, simple or complex. But this should not make

us overlook the fact that social behaviour is prehuman, precultural. There is a social factor even at the level of unicellular organisms. "The interaction between organisms is one of the most fundamental of biological facts. If chasing and pursuing among human beings is a social fact, why is it not when it occurs in the amoebia? ... The social is literally *an aspect of the biological.* There are, so far as we know, no organisms without social contacts" (7.19). We shall see the various aspects of social behaviour in animals in the next chapter. The point to be borne in mind is that we should not look upon the ' Social ' as always involving the ' Cultural ' aspect.

Even among human beings we find instances of purely social, interpersonal, relationships among infants and children. It is only with growth that the child becomes conscious of his affiliation to a family, religion, profession of father etc. Similarly we find in congenial situations the least intrusion of cultural factor. Children, adolescents as well as adults at play will be hardly conscious of their institutional affiliations. When we react in a familiar way to strangers on the road, at the market or office, in a bus or train, we are making more or less purely social, interpersonal contacts. Similarly in friendship there is much that is not cultural. Friendship may be based not so much on demands and expectations involving the particular cultural setting of the individuals, but on the more basic sentiment formation, on the continuous or frequent satisfactions regarding personal needs of affection and security. Attention may be drawn to the very illuminating analysis made by La Piere and Farnsworth of the hypothetical situation of two men meeting on a very narrow path. Since the path is narrow and since each has to go past the other to reach his goal there is an interactional situation. There are so many possible ways of resolving this problem. One may step aside or both may argue or even come to blows. " Our problem is not what they do, but how they come to do whatever it is that is done. In this respect we may distinguish three basic and in a sense mutually exclusive types of adjustment : first, if they have never faced such a problem before, they may be forced to the trial-and-error devising of an adequate pattern of interaction ; second, if they have met on this or another path before, they may

now utilize the adjustment technique that they have pre-
viously devised : finally they may employ a conventional
method of adjustment that has been handed down to them
as a part of social heritage " (6.408). Obviously the
first two methods of solving interactional situations are
more 'interpersonal' or 'personal-social' and the third
way is definitely 'socio-cultural'. It was conventional in
old India for the untouchable to step aside or even to turn
back and run away if he met a peasant or a Brahmin in a
narrow path. Similarly the peasant had to react stepping
aside when he met a Brahmin. Social inequality gave rise
to certain conventional ways of reacting in a social situation.
Similarly sex or age or wealth may determine who is to
step aside. Even to-day the Government publishes the
order of precedence for introduction to political dignitaries.
Not infrequently conflicts may arise about such status
considerations, involving a resistance to accepting the
conventional as well as when there is a desire to change
the conventions to suit one's notion about the dignity of
one's office. Thus when two people meet the social inter-
action may be just interpersonal or socio-cultural.

It is a familiar fact that in India the person with the
highest level of human development is the *Sannyasin* who
has no cultural affiliations and hence is capable of meeting
other human beings as human beings. He sheds in-group,
out-group attitudes and looks upon all human beings as
in-group. Of course it cannot be denied that this essenti-
ally *human* attitude is the result of great cultural effort.
It is similar to rule of law or justice. Justice is not pre-
judiced by colour, caste, creed, sex and other considerations.
It must be acknowledged that a country as well as an
individual can rise above cultural affiliations which limit
social contacts only through a realization of the abiding
values, which is itself conditioned by cultural development.

5. *The culture*

As we have seen above the anthropologists use the term
Culture to refer to the social heritage of a group of people.
It is the more or less organized and persistent patterns of
habits, attitudes and values which are transmitted from
generation to generation. Every human infant is not only

exposed to a culture, but assimilates it and in its turn transmits it. " The Culture consists of the shared behaviour, beliefs, and material objects belonging to a society or part of a society" (8.145). Often the terms "Social" and "Cultural" are used as interchangeable. For example, culture is looked upon as the social heritage. There is no doubt that cultural patterns are transmitted through social interactions. But as we have seen above we cannot say that all social interactions are cultural. As Kimball Young remarks : " Society precedes culture ; animals lived in close social relations and revealed the processes of conflict and co-operation and even a certain differentiation of functions, chiefly in terms of age and sex " (2.7).

Culture implies heritage, transmission of modes of acting, feeling and thinking from generation to generation. There are the material as well as the non-material aspects of culture. There are the physical objects like the houses, tools, machines and so on which form part of culture. There are also the attitudes, beliefs, knowledge and skills which form part of culture. But a division of culture on this basis is hardly satisfactory since objects have no meaning apart from the thought and action patterns.. Consequently it may be asserted that the essence of culture is the attitudes and beliefs transmitted from generation to generation rather than the mere physical objects. The use of electrical equipment designed by Americans does not make Indians Americanized, nor the use of American cars and armaments. Similarly by learning *Vedanta* the American does not become Indianized. Neither the adoption of objects nor the adoption of ideas of one culture by another makes the synthesis of culture. It is the upbringing that is really significant. People of different cultures become Americanized by living there for a couple of generations. Similarly in the ages gone by, people of foreign cultures became Indianized by living in India and assimilating Indian ways of life.

The individual is exposed to and moulded by the culture of the group into which he is born. Culture is the framework within which the individual grows and develops. A distinction is made between *universals* and *alternatives* (9). The cultural universals are the more or less generally accepted and expected patterns of behaviour. The individ-

uals in a culture learn to behave in certain definite patterns towards others. This is at the basis of social conformity, typical behaviour of individuals, e.g., in the dress of individuals belonging to a particular language group in India. There is conformity not only in learning the given language but also in innumerable other aspects of behaviour, thought and belief. This does not however, mean that there is absolute uniformity. There will be minor variations. This is what Linton called the ' alternatives '. There are variations in details though there is uniformity in general. Experience further shows that in any group though there is general conformity, there are also considerable variations, some individuals departing a great deal from the ' universals ' of the culture. No individual is completely culturally determined. Every individual is unique in any culture. Though we must recognise the common and general features we should not overlook the unique and autonomous aspects of an individual. The uniqueness may be based on individual differences in ability, aptitude and learning. The impact of the culture on the individual is not identical in every case. Further every individual sooner or later is exposed to influences which are not completely predetermined by culture. He meets other people outside the culture. Travel on the one hand, and books, radio, cinema, theatre, newspapers on the other, expose an individual to many influences outside the culture. There is also the ' interpersonal ' or ' personal-social ' aspect, we have already referred to. All these different biological and social factors bring about the uniqueness of the individuals in any culture. In short we should bear in mind the truth of both ' patterns of culture ' and ' uniqueness of the individual '.

A few examples will bring home the fact that social behaviour is culture determined. What is 'correct' behaviour in one group may be just the opposite in another group. Touching vessels with right hand when one is taking food with the right hand is taboo in one group but quite correct in another group. Similarly while drinking coffee out of the cup is approved behaviour in one, drinking it from the saucer may be the approved behaviour in another group. Thus the approved behaviour of one group might shock another group. An Indian will be shocked at the behaviour

of the western people where men and women walk holding their hands or arm-in-arm. Similarly while the South Indian greets the intimate friend or relative with a bare *namaskar* or at the most with a hand-shake, the North Indian embraces him. A South Indian may feel very uncomfortable when a close friend of his from the north expresses his joy and affection in the manner approved in the north. Examples can be multiplied by daily observation of similarities and differences in social behaviour. Those ways of behaving and thinking accepted in a group become part of the culture. Whatever is accepted by the group is learnt by the individuals belonging to the group. Human beings are constantly influenced by what the other members of the culture are doing and have done.

Unlike birds and animals man is born physically immature. The infant cannot move about or protect himself from the natural hazards. For years he has to be looked after if he has to survive. Further the world of the human being is far more complex than that of the bird or animal. By mere trial and error learning he cannot survive. " Thus the Society that makes possible the survival of the individual through infancy and childhood also makes necessary the acquisition by him of social adjustments which are so complex that they can be learned only under social guidance. As the infant grows into the child and from thence on until death, society more or less effectively and always in exceedingly complex ways, trains him into the social patterns of behaviour necessary for survival under the particular conditions of social life " (6.46). Thus we find that just as biological heritage determines man's organic potentialities, the social heritage determines a good part of his behaviour, attitudes, belief and skills. The difference between the two heritages is that while the biological heritage is a product of natural forces, the social or cultural heritage is a product of human experience. During certain ages in certain cultures, due to comparative social stability the people may believe that the accepted social practices are divinely ordained. But historical researches on the one hand and anthropological field studies on the other have conclusively shown that there is nothing ' natural ' or inevitable in social practices. Social system in any group is man-made. Further it is continually changing in every

group. Only in some groups the change is gradual while in others it may be more rapid. The differences in culture are due to the differences in social heritage based on varied experiences of different groups in their adjustment to physical nature and to the presence of other human beings.

This implies that with the change in experience, with the change in situations, there will be changes in culture. A further implication is that such changes may be facilitated by acceptance or resisted by the individuals in the group. These changes may be due to one or a few of the individuals. Thus on the one hand social heritage determines the behaviour of the individuals in a group and on the other hand some individuals may affect the social heritage. There is thus a continuous action and reaction between social heritage and social change. In some societies in some ages social heritage may be more strong while in some others social change may be more strong. The change itself may be progressive or degenerative ; or the lack of change or resistance to change may also lead to stagnation and may even affect the survival of the group. Thus we should not commit the fallacy of looking upon society as a sort of mechanism which automatically shapes human beings into pre-determined patterns. Nor should we commit the opposite fallacy that every individual is free to grow up in any way he likes. It is necessary for every individual to learn the social adjustments acceptable to the group. We may even say that there is no choice here at all since during the long and important period of infancy and childhood it is the parents and others in the family and neighbourhood that make the individual to adopt the social adjustments peculiar to the group. But later on when the individual grows and obtains insight into the social situations and needs he may bring about social change. Thus the individual starts with social conformity with more or less resistance and later may bring about social change with more or less success. It may even be asserted that social change is not always a dramatic phenomenon produced in a striking way by a leader. It may be imperceptibly, nevertheless effectively, done by every member of the group, just as every member participates in the transmission of culture in the group.

As we have seen above, the publication of *Patterns of*

Culture in 1934 by Ruth Benedict (10) and *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* in 1935 by Margaret Mead (11) marks a significant step forward in the growth of social psychology. In the two books there are six short and vivid sketches of different cultures. They showed that the social unit encourages the development of certain qualities and prevents the growth of some others by penalizing them. The amiable Arapesh and the suspicious Dobuans were shown clearly as the product of their different cultures. These studies showed that we can look upon each group as the product of one among several possible culture patterns. Thus culture came to be taken seriously as a unit in social psychology. This realization marked a significant step in the growth of social psychology.

" The Zuni are a ceremonious people, a people who value sobriety and inoffensiveness above all other virtues. Their interest is centred upon their rich and complex ceremonial life " (10.50). The Zuni are Red Indians of new Mexico in U.S.A. When a marriage is not satisfactory and "the woman is satisfied that she will not be left husbandless, she gathers together her husband's possessions and places them on the doorsill... When he comes home in the evening he sees the little bundle, picks it up and cries, and returns with it to his mother's house. He and his family weep and are regarded as unfortunate. But the rearrangement of living-quarters is the subject of only fleeting gossip. There is rarely an interplay of deep feeling. Husbands and wives abide by the rules and these rules hardly provide for violent emotions, either of jealousy or of revenge, or of an attachment that refuses to accept dismissal. Inspite of the casual nature of marriage and divorce, a very large proportion of Zuni marriages endure through greater part of lifetime " (10.68). The Zuni are matriarchal. In some cultures all the life crises like birth, onset of puberty, marriage and death are regarded as terror situations. The great fear situation is sorcery. In other Red Indian groups of north America there is prevalence of sorcery. There is " fear, the suspicion, the hardly controlled antagonism to the medicine man ... thoroughly characteristic of sorcery " (10.110). They value supernatural power not only because it is powerful, but also because it is dangerous. The medicine man is looked upon

as a person who has the power to harm ; hence there is the attitude of fear, hatred and suspicion towards him. " Such a state of affairs is impossible to imagine in Zuni. Their priests are not the object of veiled hatred and suspicion " (10.111). Thus the Zuni does not court excess in any form, there is no tolerance of violence. There is " no indulgence in the exercise of authority, or delight in any situation in which the individual stands above " (10.112). " Their cosmological ideas are another form in which they have given expression to their extraordinarily consistent spirit. The same lack of intensity, of conflict, and of danger which they have institutionalized in this world, they project also upon the other world " (10.116). They do not picture the universe as a conflict of good and evil. " They do not see the seasons, nor man's life, as a race run by life and death. Life is always present, death is always present. Death is no denial of life. The seasons unroll themselves before us, and man's life also. Their attitude involves no resignation, no subordination of desire to a stronger force, but the sense of man's oneness with the universe " (10.111). " Like their version of man's relation to other men, their version of man's relation to the cosmos gives no place to heroism and man's will to overcome obstacles " (10.118).

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DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

BEFORE concluding the introductory part it will be appropriate to review some of the findings regarding the development of social behaviour. This can be done under two headings : A. The animal prototypes of social behaviour B. The development of social behaviour in the child.

A. *The animal prototypes of social behaviour*

As we have seen earlier (page 37) there is a social factor even among the unicellular organisms. Chasing, pursuing, conflict and cooperation are all social patterns of behaviour to be found among the animals. It should not be thought that social life is something peculiar to man. In social behaviour as in other aspects of behaviour the general principle of continuity operates. Society, as indicated already, implies interaction. The action of one member of a species influences the action of the other. In a broad sense the interaction is oppositional or cooperative. Interdependency is not a late product of evolution. Generally we are more impressed by the interindividual struggle on the one hand and the struggle of the organism against the forces of the environment. There is no doubt that these contribute to the survival of the organism. But interindividual cooperation and adjustment to the aspects of environment are just as fundamental for survival.

We can survey the social behaviour among animals in a broad way by distinguishing the patterns of social behaviour among the invertebrates and the patterns among the vertebrates. The adjustments of organisms to the environment as well as to each other among the invertebrates is more or less automatic, determined by the physico-chemical forces. Hence the terms *tropism, reflex* and *instinct* are used to denote the relatively inflexible patterns of behaviour. On the other hand the vertebrates reveal an increasing degree of flexibility. While the invertebrates show

certain more or less fixed patterns of adaptation, the vertebrates show a good deal of individual variability and a capacity to profit by experience. Nature, as it were, has conducted two experiments : one at the invertebrate level where the relationship between the organism and environment is rather inflexible, with little scope for learning, and consequently, with little scope for the development of individuality, whereas at the vertebrate level the relation is more flexible and consequently with greater possibilities for learning and the development of individuality. In other words we can look upon the rigidity in behaviour at the invertebrate level as a stage in transition from the fixed relations at the inorganic level to the high degree of individuality possible among the higher animals and among the human beings.

1. INVERTEBRATE SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Jennings (1.29) studied the reasons for a collection of bacteria. He found that behaviour is fundamentally adaptive : the responses tend to promote life activities. He placed water containing bacteria on a slide. At first they scatter uniformly, swimming in all directions. Gradually they all collect around the air bubble. They come to the oxygen-saturated zone. Thus it is the protoplasmic constitution that is responsible for the collection. There is nothing ' social ' in their behaviour.

Similarly there is collective, but non-social, behaviour in the protozoa. Euglenae, for example, collect around a lighted spot. This is because each individual is whipped around by its flagellum when it enters into the shaded border zone. Alverdes distinguishes between ' associations (mere collections) and societies (organic wholes)'. " By associations I understand those chance gatherings produced solely by external factors (e.g., insects round a source of light). Societies, on the other hand, are genuine communities... (e.g., the ant-state, a horde of monkeys). In the formation of an association the individual is guided by environmental factors, and not by other members of its own species ; a society, on the other hand, is formed when the individual is guided in the first place by the presence of others of its own species and only in the second place by environment factors" (2.4). According to Alverdes not

only the aggregations of protozoa, but also the collection of beetles around the corpses of mice or birds and the gathering of birds and other animals round the dead body of an animal are all instances of association and not of a society. Elsewhere Alverdes distinguishes between asocietary and societary animals (3.113). The lower animals, beginning from protozoa are societary. Each individual lives for itself whether it is alone or in the neighbourhood of others of its species. At the most they may attack each other or defend themselves against others. But they are incapable of entering into any kind of relationship with the others. On the other hand the societary animals form relationship with one another when they are thrown together. "What differentiates a social group of any complexity from the above situation (simple association or in sub-social aggregations) is that in social aggregations the unity rests upon an interdependence of individuals, a condition deriving from the effects exerted by group members as individuals with given qualities" (4.94).

Swarms of dance flies form as a result of similar individual responses to local conditions such as light, humidity and temperature. These incidental aggregations may have possible adaptive benefits. The swarms assure the meeting of sexual forms and the survival of species. Thus we find that at the lowest levels organisms collect together because of (a) common environmental conditions and (b) for purposes of procreation.

It is at the level of the insects like the ants, bees and termites that we find true social organization. As Maier and Schneirla put it "The true social organization may be defined as an aggregation of individuals into a fairly well integrated and self-consistent group in which the unity is based upon the interdependence of the separate organisms and upon their responses one to another" (5. 164). The typical insect colony is based upon the grouping of parents and offspring. A second feature is the communication within the whole. The insect community is aroused through the propagation of excitement from individual to individual. An ant excites her nest mates through antennal vibrations. Finally we find a division of labour, a caste system among the ants. There are the fertile individuals and the infertile workers. In the insect colonies there is

the soldier caste besides the worker caste. The fertile female or the queen loses her wings and becomes an egg-laying machine. She shuns the light and makes a small burrow. As the first eggs are laid she licks them. When the larvae develop she feeds them upon a salivary gland secretion. The offspring become the workers. They are very active, they look after the queen, gather food, excavate or build the nest. They pick up the further eggs, lick them and gather them in packets as the queen did to start with. The adult workers constantly feed one another, lick one another's bodies and stroke one another with antennae. They attack ants from other colonies even though they belong to the same species. The ant learns to respond positively to the specific chemical of her own colony. One investigator took eggs from the nests of different species and hatched them artificially. Raised in a common nest they lived in peace. But the adult ants taken from the original nests and put together attacked one another. When an ant finds food and meets another individual in the nest, there is an excited and rapid exchange of antennal taps. This is how there is ' communication ' from ant to ant. The communication is not symbolic but a sense-dominated social act.

We thus find sex and reproduction constitute a very important element in social formation. Even the incidental aggregations of dance flies assure the meeting of the two sexes and thus of the survival of the species. With respect to the social insects, as we have seen, the whole colony gets started with the fertilized queen laying her eggs and hatching them. The colony consists of the mother and offspring. Allport wrote, " Society originates in the sex instinct. It leads to the institution of the family, which is the essential unit of survival. Within the family the principle of sympathy takes over ; a child survives not because he is strong and fit but because his defencelessness arouses some grade of sympathy in others " (6.19). We need not agree with Allport that there is ' sympathy ' when the queen ant licks the first laid eggs and feeds them upon its salivary gland secretion. But here is the biological basis of what later manifests itself as psychological process—sympathy.

The divisions of labour among the social insects is very

exact and rigid based on the needs of reproduction, nutrition and protection. Each insect caste is dedicated to one function. The queens have the task of reproduction, the workers that of nutrition and protection in some insects ; while in others the soldiers are in charge of only protection. Each caste has the special structure to perform its function. As far as the reproductive castes are concerned, the males and the queens, the determination appears to be genetic. In bees and wasps the determination of the queen and worker castes depends largely on nutritional factors. As Wheeler (7) puts it the workers are "nutritionally castrated" by being fed only on the " bee nectar " whereas the queens are fed entirely on " royal jelly ". " In general, caste determination appears to be fairly flexible in the first stages of growth in the social insects but, once determined, an individual's caste seems to remain rigidly fixed " (6.536).

In addition to different " castes " there are also " guests " and " slaves " in ant colonies, and among the bees and termites as well. Treatment to the guests ranges from bare tolerance to definite encouragement. Wheeler (7) devotes a whole chapter to describe the observations regarding the guests and parasites among the social insects. As regards the extraordinary social phenomenon of having slaves they " are generally taken as larvae in raids on other colonies, hatched and raised in the slavemakers' nest, and put to work excavating the nest, feeding and caring for the young, and doing other chores normally carried out by the workers of that colony " (6.537).

2. SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE LOWER VERTEBRATES

Sexual differentiation itself as we have seen makes for social interaction. When we come to the warm-blooded forms, especially the birds and mammals, there is increasing care of offspring by the parents. The young depend on the mother for survival, involving feeding and protection. There is also communal living with a view to feeding, protection and play. As we have seen above this development in social behaviour depends on the gradual decrease ·in the more or less fixed patterns of stimulus and response and the increase in the importance of maturation and learning. These, in their turn, depend on the growing domination of the higher brain centres. As Scott puts it,

" The major roots of social organization appear to be contactual behaviour, which leads eventually to advanced types of cooperation, and sexual behavior, which, when related to more elaborate types of reproduction and protection of the young, may result in what may be termed altruistic behavior " (9.47).

Thus there appear to be the following four basic roots for social organization : (a) contactual behaviour, all the way from bacteria and protozoa, which lead to measurable physiological benefits like protection against temperature and other environmental factors, (b) reproduction, (c) protection of the young and (d) group living among the higher vertebrates for feeding, protection and play. Secondly the actual kind of social relationships developed depend upon the capacity of the animal for various kinds of learning. Thus there appear to be two biological roots to social behaviour : (a) organic needs and (b) the neuro-muscular structure enabling learning processes. The two together determine the level of social behaviour among the pre-human animal species.

We can now turn to a study of the social factors among the lower vertebrate species. There is not much in the literature regarding the extent of social stimulation and response among them. There are seasonal aggregations among the fishes related to feeding and reproduction. There may also be the influence of contactual behaviour. We, however, do not know whether there is any domination or subordination among the fishes. As regards the amphibians, particularly among the frogs, there is not only contactual interplay but also some vocal interstimulation. But it is not clear whether there is any cooperation in feeding and care of the young among the fishes and the amphibians. Among the reptiles, however, there is evidence of nesting, some care and defence of the young and even some attempts to control some areas of movement. The lizards acquire and hold certain territory. The resident male wins, according to Evans " in 91 per cent of the combats " (9.108). He fights harder to defend the territory. The lizards also show some patterns of domination and subordination. Domination appears to be highly correlated with weight. The heaviest males are at the top of the hierarchy of power and the lightest at the bottom.

Among the birds we find a good deal of social life. There is flocking for purposes of feeding, migration and nesting. Secondly mating is mostly monogamous and the pairing persists through a period of nest-building, hatching and caring for the young. Thirdly in many species there is some form of dominance and subordination. Finally there is development of vocal communication.

Most birds have a social background. It has had nestling with parents and fellow fledglings in the nest. Most of the characteristic activities of the birds are associated with the reproductive cycle — migration, courting, mating, nest-building, brooding, care of the young. Breeding cycle is accompanied by some kind of migration. The birds move in flocks to a shorter or longer distance. Decrease in available food, decrease ·in temperature, decrease in available light are some of the conditions associated with bird migration. The mating and breeding activities start when the birds reach the breeding ground. In most species the male arrives first. He establishes a " territory " and drives out the other males. He fights other males and sings with great vigour to attract the female. She is not particularly responsive at first. Her presence, however, excites him and there is surplus energy which takes the form of " strutting " and " display ", particularly in the peacock. After mating the nest-building activity starts. The nest is completed by the time the egg-laying starts. Then there is the brooding. When the young are hatched, the female and the male as well supply the nestlings with food at regular intervals. Birds may come together on the basis of family groups or as a reaction to some common external condition. As the group forms they become adjusted to one another. They respond to the sounds made by others when frightened or when food is discovered. It is not possible to call this communication because the sounds are made not to get the attention of the others but are incidental to their own condition. Studies have also shown that there is dominance submission among the birds. There are reports of observation of " despotism " of one bird over the other. The ascendancy is shown by pecking another. There is also evidence of hierarchy. A may peck B and B submits to A but it may peck C. The subordinate bird demonstrates fear, submissiveness, avoidance or flight. Age,

strength and sex differences determine the dominance sub-
mission relations.   The most aggressive and active birds
become 'leaders' since other individuals learn not to push
ahead of them.

Among the mammals the dependence of the young on the
mother becomes more.   This provides the biosocial setting
in which important training takes place.   As we go up the
mammalian scale the period of dependence becomes longer.
This gives greater scope for training.   Further we find the
emergence of play.   Play provides for acquiring the various
activities necessary in catching game, in fighting and in
seeking shelter.   Thus we find social learning occurring.
Scott describes nine major types of social behaviour observed
in dogs : (a) contactual, maintaining bodily contact, lying
together, (b) sexual, (c) nurturance, giving care or attention,
licking puppies, (d) infantile behaviour, calling for care or
attention, whining, (e) fighting and escape, (f) contagious
behaviour, doing the same thing, with some mutual stimu-
lation, running together, (g) eating and drinking, (h) eli-
minative and (i) investigative exploratory behaviour, trail-
ing (8.45).

B. *Social life among the primates*

Studies of the social life of monkeys and apes have been
very extensive and rewarding.   There are four basic biolo-
gical factors : (a) the erect posture (b) the freeing of the
hands from locomotion and their use in manipulation,
(c) elaborate vocalisation and (d) further advancement in
the cerebral cortex, which differentiates the monkeys and
apes from the other higher mammals.

Both among the monkeys and apes the societies are loose
associations of adults and young, generally a male, some
females and their children.   Sometimes several of these
groups may combine and form a bigger group.   Thus group
life is connected with reproduction, care of the young,
securing of food, protection. They also derive a good deal
of pleasure in mutual grooming. We find this even among
rats and lower mammals. There is the avoidance of individ-
ual isolation. In most of the groups studied for one adult
male there will be two to three females, indicating polygyny.
The new-born is quite helpless and is entirely dependent

on the mother. The young monkey takes about one month to become independent and the chimpanzee takes about three months. The mother not only feeds the infant but grooms it and instruct it in numerous responses. There is the dependency relation not only to the mother but also to the other adults as well as to the human care-taker in captivity. Here is a clear prototype of human affection and ' belongingness '.

In all species there is some hierarchy of power, particularly with respect to sexuality and feeding. Zuckerman (10) reports that in captivity there is continual fighting among the males to control the females. On some occasions the struggles were so fierce that the weaker male as well as the intervening female have been killed. There is domination resulting in rudimentary leadership when a pack of monkeys arrive at a feeding ground or when the group fights another group. Maslow (11) reports that the stronger and more ascendant monkey reserves to itself all the available food, shows aggression towards all the other members of the group and is dominant in sex. The subordinate monkey gets little or no food, responds to aggression by passivity, by flight. There is also social hierarchy of power ; a monkey who is subordinate to one, might dominate over still another.

According to Yerkes " The young chimpanzee is a lively, extrovert, active, energetic, impulsive, enthusiastic, sangunine, very sociable, ordinarily good-natured and fairly good-tempered, somewhat mercurial, timid before the unfamiliar, extremely expressive of its continuous flow of feelings and rapidly changing moods " (12.27). It is eager to play and is mischievous. In adolescence and maturity playfulness and purposeless activity become less and it becomes serious, reserved and relatively quiet. " That social stimuli are powerful determiners of chimpanzee behaviour is readily demonstrated. An individual who refuses to eat a new food, to go into a strange place, or perform some simple act which involves the novel use of objects in its environment may intently watch a companion of the experimenter act in the appropriate way and thereupon, as if stirred and emboldened by example, make a trial for itself. Having been pleasantly rewarded or discovered that nothing disagreeable happens, it may carry on with-

out further social aid or encouragement" (12.41). This is what Kohler identified as insightful behaviour (13).

Yerkes traces the development of the mother-child relationship. The dependence on the mother is complete, just as in the human infant. Further the infant needs something to cling to. McCulloch (14) used a paper towel and Harlow (15) has studied the need of the infant for some towel or blanket to cling to. At first the mother encourages the infant to be dependent ; she prevents the infant from taking risks. But after two or three months she changes her attitude and encourages the child to move about and explore. She even ' teaches ' the young one to stand up, climb, walk etc. Finally she becomes antagonistic to the clinging reaction of the child. She pushes him aside and even drives him away. Thus the physiological status of the mother and the stage of the development of the infant determine the time for weaning and promotion of self-dependence. We find active socialization in the mother-child relationship. Further the initial specific clinging dependence on the mother is replaced by a generalized dependence on the other adults. It now seeks the companionship of other members. We can now understand why the chimpanzee is scared of loneliness. Isolation causes in it varied symptoms of deprivation. When forcibly deprived of companionship or when it is left alone, the ape cries, screams and struggles desperately to return to its companions. Harlow writes, " At the Wisconsin Laboratory we have reared two rhesus monkeys isolated soon after birth from mothers unable to nurse them adequately. Both of these monkeys were fed by medicine droppers and both became persistent and prolonged thumbsuckers " (6.132). How typically human ! But to go back to the socialization of the chimpanzee, Yerkes describes that the ape develops from utter dependence on the mother to companionship of others and finally to self-sustaining dominance. Dominance is a priority over others in satisfying its needs and desires and in the total or partial exclusion of the rights of others. If there is opposition there is a contest.

There are also elementary forms of cooperation among the apes as well as monkeys. When there is an appropriate cry of distress, when an individual is threatened or injured and cries, the whole group rushes to its rescue. We shall

refer to Crawford's experimental work on cooperativeness among the chimpanzees in a later chapter. We may now consider the ' grooming ' behaviour. We have seen in the zoo the monkeys as well as apes picking lice. But the behaviour is much more than 'lice-picking'. It is an expression of mutuality and the ability to cooperate. Grooming takes the place of human washing and bathing ; the animal makes a thorough search of its skin and hair and removes all bits etc. There is both self-grooming and mutual grooming. The animal may solicit grooming or initiate the activity. The animals express great satisfaction in this social relation. Neither the monkeys nor the apes possess true speech. Their vocalisms, like their other gestures, express emotions and drives. Their vocalisms are related to such interactions as sex, food-getting, flight, fight, play, etc. The vocal reactions become a conditioned or substitute stimulus to the others.

Thus we find development in social behaviour among animals from the most primitive congregations and contacts due to environmental conditions to the formation of families, and groups with dominance hierarchy. The biological and the social elements lead to the complex social interactions among the monkeys and the apes. Learning and socialization play a very important part. Is there an ape culture ? The basic element of culture is the transmission of tradition. This is associated with language. Both these are linked with the existence of more or less persistent thought patterns which are at the basis of tools, skills, codes and values. The ape groups do not give evidence of any of these. It is only in the human society that the cultural element is added to the biological and social elements.

C. *Social development among children*

In the last few decades objective studies have been made regarding the development of social behaviour among children. In the following section we will rely mainly on the observations of Gesell (16), Shirley (17), Charlotte Buhler (18) and other pioneers (19 and 20) in the study of child development.

1. THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF LIFE

In the first month of life there are hardly any signs of the infant's awareness of the social aspects of the environment. By the end of the fourth week the infant stares at the faces of human beings who are close by. If he is crying, he becomes quiet when picked up. Here is the beginning of response to social stimulation. However, this may yet be a response to warmth. But this leads to a conditioning process. By the sixth to eighth week the infant makes use of crying to demand social stimulation.

By the end of the eighth week he responds to the adult smile for smile. His interest in people is evident by the way he follows the movement of persons in the room. He enjoys seeing people move about the room. At the end of 16 weeks he shows more definite signs of social awareness. He likes people to speak to him. He likes when the mother or nurse sings to him. By 20 weeks he may cry when people leave him.

At 28 weeks he participates more in social interaction. He likes to be handed back and forth from one person to another. He responds to more than one person at a time. There is now the beginning of discrimination. He differentiates between people. He can recognize the mother who feeds him and looks after him. With discrimination arises a certain awareness of the strangers. He is lively with those whom he knows and reacts with shyness to others, particularly when he meets strangers in new places. He shows signs of fear when he is accosted by strangers.

Thus we find a gradual increase in the infant's social awareness from the fourth month to sixth month. In the fourth month the infant ceases crying when a person comes, pays attention to the face and the voice, whimpers or cries when a person leaves the room. He smiles in response to another's gaze. By the fifth month he becomes more active, responds by vocalization and attempts to grasp and to touch. Till the age of five months he responds with a smile irrespective of whether the other person's voice is friendly or angry. But by six months he is able to discriminate the tone and expression.

2. THE SECOND HALF-YEAR

The child enjoys the company of other people in the second

half of the first year. He may easily become overexcited. The instability of his emotional life is evidenced by quick changes from crying to laughter and from laughter to crying. By 40 weeks he becomes more shy of the strangers. He demands more of his mother or nurse. He enjoys 'peek-a-boo', 'rock-a-bye' and other activities of social interplay. He learns to say 'bye-bye'.

He also loves the game of being chased while he is creeping. He enjoys hiding behind chairs to play the game of 'where's the baby?'. At the age of one year he likes to walk when his hands are held. Another game that he delights in is to throw the toys on the floor with the expectation that they will be restored to him. He cries when the adult gets tired and does not restore. He whimpers or cries when things are taken from him. He thus gives evidence of some sense of possession.

Another development is the awareness of other children by the age of six months. His interest in other children increases as he grows older. He pays heed to the crying of other children. There may be babbling to gain the attention of other children.

Though before six months the infant is unable to discriminate between the facial expressions and tones of friendliness or anger by 8 months he shows astonishing capacity for interpreting and understanding the gestures of others.

At this period the child also shows negative reactions of flight, defence and attack. Any interference and also strangeness, as we have seen, lead to defence and flight response. There are manifestations of aggressive behaviour when he sees another person is possessing the object he desires. According to Buhler even by 8 months the child expresses satisfaction and pleasure in triumphing over a rival (18.57).

3. THE SECOND YEAR OF LIFE

By 15 months he overcomes the shyness towards strangers. He is now eager to go out. He enjoys imitating others. He may cough, blow the nose, sneeze in imitation. He may demand anything he sees and puts his parents in an embarrassing situation. By 18 months we find him greatly interested in household activities. He enjoys sweeping and

dusting. He also takes delight in fetching things. At this time he refuses to be held. He wants to be free. He resents even being touched. In these situations he may develop temper tantrums. He cries till he is given what he demands or till he is allowed to do what he desires. This is the typical infantile reaction.

At the age of 21 months his awareness of the people is very great compared to what it was when he was one year old. Further he knows what articles belong to whom in the house. He can identify things which belong to his mother, his father and himself. Thus the sense of property right becomes stronger. His interest in household activities also becomes stronger and he helps his mother in the kitchen. He can now bring things which are in the drawer and put them back again after use. But there is also the beginning of ' negativism '. He responds less quickly to requests than before. He may do the opposite of what is asked of him.

When he is two years old his property rights become stronger. He tries to possess as many things as he can. He insists on his rights by asserting ' it is mine '.

Maudry and Nekula (21) studied the social relations of the children of same age by placing them in standard situations and by observing their reaction to one another. They found that up to the age of nine months there was very little social response to one another. From 9 to 14 months though they paid attention to each other they were more engrossed in their play things than in one another. There were negative responses such as pushing the other child aside. From 14 to 18 months there was a gradual transition. There was the positive response to one another. Responses became friendly and cooperative. Positive responses predominated over the negative responses by the time the children were two years of age. The cooperative give-and-take between the children at this age was not likely to be of long duration. The authors observed that when many children were together they tended to take notice of one another and make contacts. But their play tended to be more parallel, each child playing the same game like the other children, with only occasional interchanges.

Thus we find a big difference between the social and emotional life of the child in its first year as compared to

that in his second year. As we have seen the child does not differentiate much between individuals in the first year except in recognizing the mother and nurse. Otherwise the child smiles, babbles and makes physical contacts with everyone. Similarly negative responses like fight and defence occur when there is some interference with the freedom of movement of the child or when it encounters strange people or familiar people in strange clothes. But in the second year of life both the positive and the negative social reactions become much more strong. The child manifests its affection by caresses, fond words, by offering assistance and even by giving presents. Further he clings to his mother or other favourite person when there is the prospect of separation. He also shows jealousy when some one else approaches the mother. All these are definite signs of love. Similarly the negative reactions become signs of hatred. The child may show violent negative behaviour by hitting, pushing away, shouting and so on. Thus we find a big difference between the friendly and antagonistic behaviour patterns of the first and of the second years. " The objective psychology observes that the infant in the first year smiles at all other human beings, that at the end of the first year and during the second year the child reacts positively only to familiar persons, and after the fourth month familiar persons becoming increasingly differentiated from strange ones, that from second to fourth year an extreme dependence upon specific individuals arises and that this response can be clearly distinguished from the simple positive responses, etc. An ever-increasing specialization and intensification of the positive reactions takes place, which finally become concentrated on one individual after having gone through phases in which all human beings, then familiar individuals and finally the most familiar person are recipients of the positive responses. In this last phase parents and other individuals begin to have a specific significance for the child " (18.63).

4. THE TWO-AND-A-HALF YEAR OLD

According to Gesell (16.188) ritualism is very characteristic of the 30-month child. He knows the position of the various things of the household and insists that they should be kept in their proper places. He resents any rearrange-

ment or alteration. Parents can recall the way in which the child of this age insists upon his father removing his shoes and socks in a particular manner in the particular place. He will insist upon being put on the cycle or the car when father goes to work or returns home after work. " His imperial domineering ways are sometimes hard for others to accept. He may command one to sit here, another to do something else, and still another to go away. If the parent realizes that the child is only passing through a temporary regal, dictatorial stage he may respond to the child's orders more graciously, more whimsically" (16.189).

At this age the child will do a number of simple household tasks in a systematic manner. He likes to be with other people, adults as well as children. He likes to play with one other child out of doors. Gesell has found that the child who likes to play with the other child in the house will be rather poor in making adjustments to new places. So it is in the interest of healthy development to take the child out to others' houses or to parks and play centres to play with others at this age. They will also learn to share their toys with others while playing.

5. THREE YEARS

By three years the child likes to play outdoors with another child. He will not only play, he will also quarrel. He may attack the other child and scratch, or bite or push or kick him. So the play must be supervised. He is of greater help to his mother in doing household work and in running errands.

He has a new emotional awareness of himself. He enjoys speaking of himself and his mother as ' we '. He wants to know more about himself and so the mother has to tell him about his earlier experiences and actions. Thus we find around this age, with the growth of language and with the increase in interactional processes a growing awareness of oneself. Some children cling to their past but others will look forward and are planning to go to school or go out for a holiday. At this age the child is able to make a choice of his food, his clothes, play, toys etc. The child may even learn to .play one parent against another. When he wants to go out and knows that the mother will not allow, he gets the consent of the father and later tells

the mother that he was asked to go out by the father. When there is disagreement between the parents, the child makes use of this technique. The best thing is for the parents to give up the appearance of divided authority. The mother must make decisions about food, clothes etc., and the father about other things.

The imaginative life of the child increases. The child of three or three and half-years may speak to and play with imaginary companions. Even when the child is two years old the imaginative play starts. The child of two and a half-year may give tea out of its toy tea-pot and cups with or without water. The child may also imagine that he is an animal and make the appropriate movements and cries as he perceives them. All these various activities are coincident with the self-discovery of his own identity. The child may also impersonate the postman or the policeman or the doctor or the hawker or the mother at play with other children or with the adults. " Probably all imaginative life in the child satisfies some inner need, whether it is for companionship, some one to ' beat ', some one to look up to, some one to do things with, some one to boss. Probably the intricacies of individual emotional development are being worked out by the child through these imaginative devices " (16.211).

6. FOUR YEARS AND AFTER

The four year old child is a social being. He desires to play with other children. His preference for children may be so much that he may even refuse to go to houses where there are no children. He is now so busy with his own play and friends that he loses interest in helping his mother in the household work.

At the same time he will also develop strong family and home ties. He often quotes his father and mother as authorities. He is given to a good deal of boasting about his home and his parents. He makes comparisons and magnifies the things in his house and the attributes of his parents.

His imaginary playmates do not figure much at this age. His imaginative play is more closely related to the social life. Impersonation of animals gives place to impersonation of father, mother, doctor, grocer etc. He likes to go

out for a walk with the father or mother and asks no end of questions.

The social development of the individual is a continuous one. There will be always something we learn about ourselves and something about the others right through the years of life. We may now give brief reviews about certain specific social relationships.

7. SOME SPECIFIC SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

We find that the infant starts his life with no awareness of others nor of his utter dependence on others. With time he not only becomes aware of others, but also of himself. He gradually becomes more and more independent of others. He becomes self-assertive. He may even become defiant. " But whatever front he may assume, he is never completely weaned from his dependence on others; he never becomes so self-sufficient that he is immune to the approval or disapproval of his fellows or free from a desire for affection and security in his relation with his fellow men " (22.131). As we have seen above, according to Charlotte Buhler, there are three phases in the growth of the child with respect to love or positive reactions as she puts it : in the first four to six months the child's perceptions are not clear and specific. He reacts in a positive way to all human beings. In the second half-year he can distinguish between the familiar persons and the strangers. He reacts positively to the familiar persons and negatively to the strangers. At the third stage from the second to the fourth year the child shows extreme dependence on specific individuals like the mother, father and others in the household. Charlotte Buhler refers to the study of Amy Daniels who made a study of the far-reaching importance of sympathetic individual care. " Two groups of two-years-old children living in the same institution were segregated from each other and subjected to two divergent types of treatment. One group was given very little tenderness although adequately cared for in every other respect. In the other group, a nurse was assigned to each child and there was no lack of tenderness and affection. At the end of half a year the first group was mentally and physically retarded, in comparison with the second. In order to effect normal psychic and physical maturity, individual care and

devotion are indispensable in the upbringing of small children " (18.65). Thus we find that particularly in the first five years of life the child needs the mother's affection very greatly. Psychoanalysts, psychiatrists and psychologists are now convinced that it is essential for mental health that the infant and young child should experience an intimate, warm and continuous relationship with his mother or mother-substitute, in which both the child and the mother find satisfaction and enjoyment. The ill-effects of ' maternal deprivation ' are very great. " Partial deprivation brings in its train anxiety, excessive need for love, powerful feelings. of revenge, and, arising from these last, guilt and depression. The young child, still immature in mind and body, cannot cope with all these emotions and drives " (23.12). Bowlby shows that complete deprivation of mother love, particularly from two to five years of age, is disastrous to the individual and renders him•incapable of making love relationships with others.

In conclusion it may be stated that while the love and hate relationships (*raagadvesha*) with others grow from an undifferentiated love towards all in the first six months of life, to the differentiation between the familiar persons and the strangers towards the end of the first year of life, and finally to the greater differentiation of the parents and other members of the family as the core in human relations. from the second to the fifth year or so, the cycle has again to be completed by extending the love and ' consideration ' from family to other familiar people and finally to all. The individual whose love reactions are restricted to his family is in an arrested stage. Similarly the individual whose love reactions are restricted to his tribe or caste or *svajana* or country or religion is also a constricted personality. The sign of true maturity is to love all human beings as the charter of human rights now puts it, or as the ancient Indians characterized it, *visvaprema*.

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PART TWO

SOCIAL INTERACTION

SOCIAL PERCEPTION

A BASIC fact of all behaviour is that it depends upon needs and goals. Consequently social interaction is based upon needs and goals. A detailed consideration of the needs and goals may be taken up when the problem of socialization is dealt with in Part III.

1. *Social interaction starts with perception*

Every social reaction starts with the perception of the other individuals or groups. Consequently the problem of perception is basic in social interaction. When you meet an acquaintance in the street and start talking to him the social interaction begins with your perception of that individual. If you had not perceived him there would not have been any social interaction whatever. Why did you see him ? It is not just because he happened to be going. Several times as we may recall, some of our close friends have told us that we did not perceive them even though we passed by them. Probably they even tried to attract our attention and failed. It is not true that we perceive all the human beings whom we pass by. As Gardener Murphy has put it : " In the light of the strong trend in recent years to lift the problem of social psychology from the behaviour level to the level of awareness of social reality the need for reasonable theory of the process of social perceiving has become imperative " (1.139). Particularly since the work of Rorschach and Murray has established that personality determines perception, we find that the problem of social perception is receiving considerable attention. What are the determiners of social perception ?

2. *Structural and functional factors*

How do the laws of perception operate in social interaction? As long ago as in 1940 the present writer indicated " all perception whether illusory or non-illusory, is based on the

interaction of three essential factors ; the local stimulation, the stimulus field forces, and the organismic field forces " (2.165).

" If we now refer back to the six factors of unit formation as enunciated by Wertheimer we find that the first three factors ' proximity ', ' similarity ' and ' common fate ' are objective characteristics based on the forces in the field of perception. But the last two namely ' set ' and ' past experience ' are purely subjective or organismic, depending on the condition of the observer. Whereas the fourth the factor of ' goodness ', if based on symmetry and balance will be objective and if based on the ease of formation or the pleasing feature of the formation will be subjective " (2.161).

In 1942 Muenzinger (3) suggested the term ' functional factors ' to refer to those factors which derive primarily from needs, moods and past experience. In 1947 Bruner (4) suggested the term ' behaviour determinants ' to describe these factors.

Thus we can look upon the structural factors and the functional factors as two sets of factors which are responsible for the perceptual organization. The gestalt phychologists were responsible to bring out clearly the importance of the structural factors. On the other hand the researches of Rorschach, Murray and Bartlett brought out very clearly the influence of functional factors in perception and other cognitive operations. We may give here some simple illustrations of the two sets of factors before we proceed to describe some of the experimental results. Just as a single black dot may stand out vividly in a group of white dots, similarly a single Negro may stand out prominently if he is in the midst of a group of white people. Similarly we find that a fair person may stand out prominently in a group of Indians. A fez cap or the Gandhi cap or the Mysore turban may stand out prominently when other people are not wearing any kind of head-dress. Here we find the operation of the structural factor leading to a perceptual organization. Similarly functional factors based on needs will also influence the perceptual organization. A man who is rushing to catch a train or bus, or a student who is rushing to go to his class will not observe the restaurants on the wayside. Similarly a person who is hungry

will not observe clothes and other articles of apparel displayed in a shop window. What we perceive is determined by our needs at the moment.

3. *Some experimental results*

In 1942 Murphy and others (5) conducted a very interesting experiment which demonstrated how the intensity of a need lead to perceptual distortion. They showed ambiguous drawings behind a ground glass screen to two groups of College students. Students who were hungry perceived the ambiguous drawings more frequently as food objects than those who had just finished eating. They clearly demonstrated that this difference in perception is due not to the structural factors but to the differences in needs and motivations among the perceivers.

In 1947 Bruner and his co-workers (4) obtained similar results with the size of coins. It was found that a group of slum children perceived the coins bigger in size than a group of children from business and professional classes. They asked ten year old children to make size comparisons of various discs and coins. They found that the poor children tended to judge coins to be larger than the discs of the same size. They came to the conclusion that the social value of an object and the individual need for the socially valued object will influence perception. They called such factors behavioural determinants.

" In experiments of a similar point R. L. Soloman found that children trained to receive a token which could later be exchanged for candy or other desirable objects would judge the token larger than it would have been judged before the training experience. The assessed over-estimation disappeared after the token was made no longer redeemable in terms of reward " (6.189).

Krech and Crutchfield have enunciated two propositions which are of great significance :

Proposition (1) The perceptual and cognitive field in its natural state is organized and meaningful (7.84).

Proposition (2) Perception is functionally selective (7.87).

It is a common experience that we tend to misinterpret the expression and manners of foreigners. We perceive their clothes, their language, their manners and customs as

very peculiar, funny and even ridiculous. Often times we have found that people speaking the same language will look upon the regional differences in pronounciation as utterly ridiculous ; probably the compliments are mutual. This is due to the fact that we tend to perceive sounds, movements etc., in an organized way and when they do not fit in with the organization with which we are familiar we tend to look upon them as peculiar and queer. In 1946 Asch (8) conducted a very interesting experiment. He gave a list of traits and asked the students to write a description of the impression they had formed regarding the unknown person with those traits. In one version traits were given in the following order :

Industrious, intelligent, impulsive, critical, stubborn, envious.

In another version the traits were given in the following order :

Envious, stubborn, critical, impulsive, industrious, intelligent.

Asch found that two descriptions differed markedly. He concluded " When the subject hears the first a broad uncrystalised but directed impression is born, the next characteristic comes not as a separate item but as reality to the established direction. "

4. *Frame of reference*

Thus we find that there is the influence of cognitive organization on perception. Sherif and other writers have made use of the concept *Frame of Reference* to explain such phenomenon. Buxton (9) writes " The frame of reference may be defined as the background of stimulation which influences our behaviour in a particular situation. It may include external or internal stimuli other than the outstanding ones. It may include ideas or memories. But an important assumption is implicit in our simple definition, namely, that the effects of any given stimulus upon a person are not independent of the effects of other stimuli ". Thus we find that the frame of reference brings out the significance of the factor that a system of functional relations influence our perception at a given time. We cannot explain perception merely in terms of stimuli which impinge

on the organism from outside. The internal factors also
influence our perception. The important factor that we
have to bear in mind is that there is organization, an integ-
ration, involving both the external as well as internal
factors. As Sherif writes "We shall then refer to the
totality of external and internal factors operating in an
interdependent way at a given time as the frame of refer-
ence of the experience and behaviour in question " (10.41).

A few illustrations from daily life will make this concept
clear. When we say that a house is small we are obviously
speaking not of this house as such but of this house in rela-
tion to other houses. In other words we have a
certain standard of reference regarding the size of the
house. We are now comparing this particular house with
the other houses. It is a familiar fact that a woman who
is 5 ft. 4" tall is looked upon as a tall woman. On the
other hand a man who is 5 ft. 4" tall will be perceived as
a short man. Though the height in both the cases is the
same we make this difference in judging their heights.
This is because of the standard of height which is implicit
and which integrates our present perceptions with our past
experience. Because of the difference in the average
height of the two sexes our perceptions of the height will
vary. Similarly we perceive a man's behaviour as rude
depending upon what we are accustomed as constituting
polite behaviour and rude behaviour. What appears rude to
a middle-class educated man will appear to be quite normal
to an illiterate slum-dweller. Similarly an inappropriate
remark may bring about embarassment in a formal social
gathering, whereas the same remark may be highly enjoy-
able in another gathering. So it is not the stimulus itself
that is significant but the occasion, the nature of the group,
the time and such other factors will influence how we
perceive that remark. It is a familiar fact that a student
who gets 35% may feel very happy that he got a passing
mark. On the other hand another student may feel humi-
liated because he has obtained only 58%. A poor man
may feel that if he could only earn one hundred rupees
per month he could send his children to ' the right school '.
On the other hand a middle-class man may feel that even
his income of four hundred rupees is not enough to send
his child to ' the right school '. Thus the significance of

the experience and the attitudes regarding success or the failure will depend upon the standard set up by the individual and the standard of the group to which an individual belongs. This is the reason why there may be different versions about a quarrel between two people or of the happenings in the society or in the country.

"Distorted pictures take shape in the minds of men, but not because men are gullible by nature and not because they cannot see events with accuracy under proper conditions and orientations. Seeing things is not independent of the person's desires and biases or prejudices. In a complex social world where there are many alternatives to be noticed he is likely to notice those things which are relevant to his intentions and attitudes" (10.40).

Pars Ram made a study of the Hindu-Muslim tensions in Aligarh in 1951. A few months earlier, in March 1950, there were widespread Hindu-Muslim riots at Aligarh and other parts of Uttar Pradesh. In an interview he asked both the Hindus and Muslims, "Have you heard or seen anything of the conflict between different groups or communities ; (a) during the past year, (b) during the past six months, (c) during the past three months, (d) during the past week ?" He found differences in approach between the Hindus and Muslims when they were answering this question. The Hindus reiterated that there were no incidents after March 1950 rioting. On the other hand Muslims gave instance after instance of mistreatment and discrimination by the Hindus. Thus it was found that there was little correspondence between the way in which the two groups perceived the same situation after the riots (11.149). The insecurity of the minority community led it to focus its attention and perceive threats in incidents which were looked upon by the majority community as ordinary and normal.

In order to illustrate the differences in perception of the same situation which arise because of difference in our outlook reference may be made to the investigation by Zellig (12). In 1928 he got two groups of children to perform callisthenic exercises before their class-mates. One group was almost uniformly disliked by their class-mates while the other group was very much liked by their class-mates. The experimenter had trained the 'disliked'

group to perform the exercises in a perfect way. On the other hand the 'liked' group was trained deliberately to make mistakes. When the two groups performed their exercises it was discovered that the audience reiterated that the 'disliked' group had made several mistakes. In other words the predisposition or readiness to dislike enables the person or a group to perceive errors. On the other hand a disposition to like has the opposite effect of over-looking the faults. It is a common experience that the step-mother always finds faults with the step-child. Similarly the mother-in-law always finds faults in the behaviour of the daughter-in-law. This has been very impressively brought out in Zellig's experiment. But it should not be inferred that prejudice always distorts our perception. Allport and his co-workers (13) found at Harvard that persons with strong anti-semitic prejudices were more accurate in identifying Jews by their facial expressions than the persons with no such prejudice. Here is an experimental proof of an adage, " Set a thief to catch a thief ".

Murphy and Schafer (14) conducted a very interesting experiment to show the effect of reward and punishment on perception. They used two ambiguous figures which were presented momentarily. Each figure was so designed that a part of the picture could be seen as an outline of a human face. Every time one of these faces was perceived the subject was rewarded with money. Whereas the other figure when perceived lead to punishment by some of his money being taken away. By using this technique Murphy built up a strong association between certain visual patterns and rewards and between other patterns and punishments. In the test situation both the 'rewarded' and 'punished' patterns were combined into one picture so that either could be seen as the figure or as the ground. It is reported that 54 out of 67 perceptions were perceptions of the rewarded figures as faces. As is well known Rorschach and Murray have made use of the perception of unstructured material to study the needs and the conflicts underlying personality.

It is a familiar fact that the mental set affects the perception. The writer recalls several occasions when he found well-settled Government officials remarking that the group of volunteers marching past the streets in 1942 as be-

ing composed of rabble and the waifs and the strays. On the other hand the same spectacle would make the patriotic and the nationalistic individuals to remark about the disciplined way in which the young men were moving in the procession. Similarly to the labour leader the contingent which is doing Satyagraha near the gates of a mill appears to be a disciplined, sacrificing and idealistic set of people whereas the same spectacle will cause the management representative to look upon them as ill-dressed, unkempt, disorderly persons who are preventing the disciplined men from doing their duty. When we look at the individuals who have been arrested on suspicion as being involved in some theft we are able to perceive pronounced marks of craftiness, irresponsibility, cruelty, and such other expressions in their faces. It is possible that many of them may be honest citizens who have been mistakenly arrested and who might probably be released later on. It is also a familiar fact that a person who is in a happy mood tends to over-look many things in a situation or in a person's behaviour whereas people who are in an angry or in an anxious mood tend to be very critical. In other words the perceptual structure for a person who is in a happy mood is simple and un-differentiated. Whereas the person in a critical mood will direct his attention to specific details in the perceptual field. "Things are very rarely what they seem. The emotions, moods, personalities, and temperaments of people, colour and determine what they see 'out there'. The entire cognitive world of an individual who has an over-riding need for security will be organized on quite a different basis from the individual who does not seek constant reassurances" (7.91). We may refer to yet another familiar fact. Two people who are friendly will see in each other many good qualities. Later on when the relationship between the two changes to enmity each looks at the other as a very cunning, mean and ignoble person. What happens is that the incidents which were part of the background during the period of friendliness come into the foreground during the period of enmity. It is not that the individuals have changed but that the frame of reference is now changed and this brings about a change in our perceptions as well as memories.

As Sherif and Cantril put it: "The term 'frame of

reference ' is simply used to denote the functionally related factors (present and past) which operate at the moment to determine the particular properties of a psychological phenomenon (such as perception, judgement, affectivity)" (15).

5. *Anchorage*

Thus we find that this concept of frame of reference helps us to understand many of the social phenomena. Sherif also used the term anchorage. An anchorage is a major reference point which gives significance to the whole perception. The anchorage is the standard which influences what we perceive. This anchorage may be due (a) to the structured nature of the external stimulus or (b) to the motives, attitudes, preoccupations and such other processes in the individual or (c) to the socially derived factors. The individual's attitudes or preoccupations or ambitions may become the anchorage which re-organized the whole situation so that a particular pattern of perception may emerge. Similarly socially derived factors like group norms or group pressures may re-organize our perception (10.52). Sherif also draws attention to the disastrous influence on behaviour of the loss of stable anchorage. When we go to a strange place where we are unable to perceive any landmarks, where we do not have any kind of orientation, we become bewildered and we will become terribly frightened. Similarly lack of orientation may arise when our social ties with the beloved ones or with our groups are disrupted. A person may feel completely shaken up when his trusted friend betrays him or when some person near and dear passes away. Similar thing takes place in the economic situation when due to several reasons the prices of necessities shoot up the people become bewildered and they may find an anchorage in the revolutionary who calls them to attack and loot even the Government granaries. Under such circumstances there may be a conflict between two anchorages. The strong urge to satisfy hunger may come into conflict with the strong urge to lead a life regulated by law.

6. *The influence of age*

Finally we may draw attention to some studies on the per-

ception of facial expressions. As early as 1923 Gates (16) reported a study regarding the growth of social perception using photographs of facial expressions. Photographs designed to express joy, anger, surprise, fear, scorn and pain were shown to children varying in age from 3 to 14 years. 70% of the children at the kindergarten age were able to correctly name the picture showing laughter ; but only less than half were able to recognize pain, anger and fear ; none of the children recognized pictures depicting surprise and scorn. On the other hand of the seven year old children more than 50% could identify anger. Fear was identified by more than 50% of ten-year old children and surprise by eleven year-old children. In daily life the children are able to identify expressions in familiar setting more correctly because of the situations, words etc.

Yet another aspect of social perception pertains to the way in which we perceive individuals as members of groups. The groups themselves try to develop unique ways of dressing etc. For example in India the people of different status have different types of dress. This leads to immediate perception of their status. Similarly employees in the army, railways, postal department etc., are given uniforms so that they could be immediately perceived as people with a certain status and function.

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TYPES AND MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

IN THIS chapter we may put together a number of different concepts which will be of great value in understanding the social processes.

A. *Types of social interaction*

Three types of social interaction are generally identified namely : (1) Person to Person ; (2) Person to Group ; (3) Group to Group.

(a) PERSON AND GROUP

We may have social interaction, as it happens in most cases, between one person and another. This interpersonal interaction is really basic in society. As we have seen above, the social act is an interaction of individuals and among these social acts the mother-child relationship is the basic social act with which each human being starts life. In a previous chapter (Ch. IV) we found that this parent-child relationship is something prehuman. It is there among the animals, birds and even insects. Next we have the person to group interaction where an individual is confronted and reacts to a group. Even the child may react to a group as, for example, in the nursery school or in the elementary school. Similarly he has to react to the group of children who are playing in the neighbourhood. This becomes much more complicated in the later life of an individual when he meets groups which may be informal and even formal. In fact a good deal of the personality of the individual expresses itself in the way in which he reacts to other persons as individuals and to other persons in a group. That is why the group situations are very helpful in assessing the personality of an individual. Finally we have the group to group interaction, where an individual identifies himself with a group and reacts to another group as a whole. There are reactions, for instance, between

factions in a village or between members of two villages or between members of two linguistic groups in a city, or finally between two nations or groups of nations.

(b) INTEGRATION WITHIN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GROUPS

Sociologists classify social interaction into two types: the primary and the secondary. The family, the play group, the neighbourhood in the village or in the city are all primary groups. Essentially these groups are small groups. That is why we find that in the tribal groups as well as in the rural groups social interaction is intimate, face-to-face. As Maciver and Page write : " The simplest, the first, the most universal of all forms of association is that in which a small number of persons meet "face to face" for companionship, mutual aid, the discussion of some question that concerns them all, or the discovery and execution of some common policy" (1.218). Another characteristic of the primary group is the all-or-none inclusion of functions and statuses. There is no specialization of functions. That is why we find that among tribal groups as well as the rural groups any man can do any job. Finally the primary group is also primary in time. It is the matrix from which the whole personality grows. The relationship between the individuals in the home and in the neighbourhood are very basic for the growth of personality. The primary group may be free functioning and informal as in the play group and friendship or it will be formal as in an interview or in the class room or in the office or factory.

In contrast the interpersonal relationships in the secondary group are characterised by formality. That is why the secondary groups are more consciously formal groups. The secondary groups can arise only with growth in culture. The relationship is based on specialization and on segmented interests of the members. All the members of the group will have some special functions. So the secondary groups are institutionalized. Each group has its own codes, rituals, rules and regulations. There will also be fixed hierarchy of authority. The caste organization, the municipality, the club, the religious group, the political party are all illustrations of the secondary group. In fact the state itself is an example of the secondary group. The person or the group may have a relationship with groups

which are far beyond in other parts of the state or other countries of the world. They may never come into personal contact with these groups but they are closely tied because of the institutions of which they are members.

The formation of the secondary groups implies a transition from the tribal to more universal forms of social organization and also from the rural to the urban forms of organization. Even in ancient India with the formation of cities relationship between individuals and groups became formalised. But, in the world, the domination of the secondary-groups has become a very significant feature in the recent times, particularly with industrialization. As we know industrialization leads to increased urbanization ; as a consequence we find that the influence of the primary social relationships becomes very small. In fact the domination of the secondary group in recent times has gone so far as to lead some thinkers to posit the social concept of *mass society* (2). *The mass society* is characterised by rationality, impersonal relations and extreme specialization of roles on the one hand and by suggestion, persuasion and propaganda on the other. So we find in the *mass society* two contradictory things co-existing : reason and suggestion. Industrialization is dependent upon the achievements in science, technology and organization. All these are essentially rational. The use of thought not only in understanding nature but in making use of the principles so understood in the solution of life problems and in the development of techniques which will make life more comfortable and efficient. But, on the other hand, the fact of urbanization leads to impersonal relations. Consequently there is no intimacy in the relationship of the individuals. The social interaction is not between persons but between representatives of positions in the formal order. In the village there is primary face to face relations. Every person knows every other person. But in a large city we may not even know our neighbour or a person living in the next flat in the same building. Large numbers of people are living together in modern cities ; but because the social relations become impersonal there is a feeling of loneliness. When you go to a theatre by yourself, you will feel utterly lonely though there will be hundreds of people around you. There is no relationship of intimacy with

the other people in the theatre. Another feature of the mass society, as we shall be seeing later on, is the dominance of crowd behaviour with the development of mass propaganda techniques. Individuals react in an irrational manner and that is why there is the great danger that groups may be swayed by demagogues. A large crowd may be inspired to do noble things and with the same ease it may be led to do the most destructive ácts. Thus the secondary group with all its advantages of rationality and impersonality is also exposed to the dangers of irrationality and crowd behaviour. As Kimball Young writes : " The impress of mass society upon men and their culture constitutes one of our most crucial problems of personality balance, sense of emotional security and moral use 'of power " (3.6). Thus the primary type of social interaction has its own advantages and disadvantages which are characteristic of small communities and rural groups. There is the warmth of intimate face to face contacts but there is also the danger of each man prying into the affairs of others ; jealousies and rivalries hold down the growth of the personality. On the other hand while the secondary group releases the individual from jealousies and rivalries by making social interactions more impersonal, it leads on the one hand to a sense of loneliness and lack of intimacy with the other members of the group and consequently to a loss of security, and on the other hand, it exposes the individual to suggestion and propaganda and makes behaviour more akin to crowd behaviour. It is the task of education and enlightenment to bring about harmony between these two forms of social life so that an individual is impersonal and effiicient while at the same time not feeling lonely and insecure.

(c) INGROUP AND OUTGROUP FORMATION

There is another classification of social interaction, into ' Ingroup ' and ' Outgroup ' formations. Whether the group is primary or secondary, we may feel intense loyalty, sense of oneness and mutual identification or a sense of hostility. The former is an indication of the formation of the ingroup attitudes, while the latter is typical of the outgroup attitude. We learn to divide people into the " We " and " They ". The groups with which we identify ourselves constitute the ingroup. The individual develops

6

attitudes of identification with the persons of the family, the caste, the neighbourhood, the nation etc. The persons forming the 'other' groups are looked upon with fear, suspicion or dislike, as groups which are antagonistic to the progress and welfare of 'our' group. There is co-operation with the members of the ingroup and opposition and hostility towards members of the outgroup. The two are closely related. The greater the ingroup feeling the greater the outgroup feeling and vice-versa. Consequently the ingroup and outgroup attitudes generate definite patterns of thought, emotion and action. These attitudes may be highly culturised and they may even be transmitted from one generation to another generation. Quite a good many of historical conflicts as well as village factions are due to the cultural transmission of these ingroup and outgroup attitudes among the human beings. These attitudes may function at the primary level so that the individual may avoid the other individual or the group; he may work in opposition to the other.

There is a sense of belonging to the family or faction or village or nation. There is also a tolerance, an understanding towards these members of ingroup. But there is a sense of difference and feelings of intolerance and prejudice towards the members of the outgroup. We feel that the family is ours or the college or occupation or religion to which we belong is ours. So there is a consciousness of kind which is basic here. Thus these subjective attitudes are very basic. But the main thing we have to bear in mind is that both ingroup feelings as well as the outgroup feelings arise in the process of socialization. The individual learns to belong to a group and he also learns to exclude others from his group. The outgroup attitude is always marked by a sense of difference. Often there is also some degree of antagonism which may vary from mild antipathy to such powerful aversions as were found for instance between the Hindus and Muslims in 1940's in India. It may also be remembered that both these attitudes, ingroup as well as outgroup, are culturally imposed. Consequently this is one of the greatest problems of civilization. With socialization the individual develops along with the desirable ingroup attitudes, the undesirable outgroup attitudes also. Conflicts arise because the separate interests are put

above the common interests and mutual jealousies prevail. This is a formidable danger to the continued existence of civilization itself. The great need is a new orientation to socialization. It is necessary to build up devotion to the group or the nation which will not engender antagonism to our membership of the world as a whole, the humanity as a whole.

B. *Types of social functioning*

In a broad way we can distinguish between four types of social functioning namely coercion, competition, coopration and accommodation.

(a) *Coercion* occurs in a dominant-submissive relationship. As we have seen above coercion occurs even at the level of bird behaviour and animal behaviour. The weaker is induced to accept what the dominant individual wishes him to accept. The dominance may be by the physically powerful or by the socially and intellectually and organizationally powerful. Prolonged coercion may result in the assimilation of the standards of the dominant group. It is possible that the coerced party may resist but later it may accept and assimilate with enthusiasm the forms of the dominant group. This is the great danger in social and political organizations. A powerful minority could impose its standards on a meek majority. It is also possible that there may be a resistance to coercion which may gradually gather momentum and lead to the overthrow of the coercing authority. There is always the desire on the part of the dominant to force its will on the groups with which it is functioning. History is replete with various forms of coercion and the meek acceptance as well as revolution and overthrow of the coercing authority. We find coercion even in the parent-child relationship. Often the mother coerces the child to conform to the social standards. Thus coercion has its root in animal behaviour as well as in the family context. It is the task of civilization to evolve ways and means for not only re-designing but completely eliminating all forms of coercion in social relationships.

(b) *Cooperation* is another basic type of social functioning. Different individuals or different groups of indi-

viduals may cooperate with each other in order to reach certain goals. Cooperation may be achieved by different individuals who will have identical functions. It may also be achieved particularly at higher levels through performance of different functions. Like coercion cooperation has also got its roots in animal behaviour as well as in child behaviour. The little child in the house may cooperate with the mother doing a number of tasks in the kitchen or in the dining room. The child may be ready to take the broom and sweep the house. Probably mothers may find that with growth, particularly during adolescence, the boy or girl may refuse to cooperate spontaneously in the home activities.

(c) *Competition* occurs when there is a struggle of persons or groups for the same goal which cannot be shared by all. A distinction may be made between competition and rivalry. The two words are not usually clearly defined. It would be desirable to restrict rivalry to those situations where one individual tries to obtain the goal by damaging the opponent. The term competition may be used for the situation where one individual tries to attain the goal, not by damaging the opponent, but by himself endeavouring to achieve that goal with increased efficiency. The highest form of competition is where the individual tries to be better than what he was in the previous years, namely, self-competition. It must be the aim of the family as well as school and society to foster a spirit of self-competition in the individuals and to discredit all forms of rivalry. Rivalry is based on jealousy. Jealousy is something which is very primitive, which we can observe among the animals. Rivalry leads to pulling down the opponent and not to self-improvement. Consequently the group which is full of rivalry will not be able to progress at all. Social progress is possible only when there is self-competition among the individuals composing the group.

(d) *Accommodation* : As we have seen above opposition and cooperation are two basic interactional processes. Cooperation is possible when the various individuals realise the need to shoulder together the responsibility for achieving certain ends. But opposition and conflict may lead to a breakdown in all social relationships. This is where accommodation leads to some kind of adjustment between

the individuals and groups so that the tension between them is reduced. There are two forms of accommodation which may be distinguished : Compromise and social integration. Where there is opposition and disagreement there may be some form of compromise. It is a sort of a truce. It is not a solution. For the moment the conflicting parties may try to postpone, or give up temporarily, the conflicting attitude and mutual hostility. That is why compromise is not a solution. The disagreement between the two parties may be left unsettled and there may be a rancour which may blow up with greater ferocity later. Here we find resemblance between compromise and coercion. Both lead to dissatisfaction and not to social harmony and social efficiency. Coercion leads to acceptance through fear while compromise leads to acceptance through despair. In contrast social integration is a form of accommodation which leads to acceptance of a policy through understanding. In social integration there is discussion and group decision. The differences are studied and understood. No particular decision is forced by one group on the other group. The group as a whole may discuss the situation and arrive at a solution which is the most acceptable to all the members concerned. So social integration does not generate dissatisfaction as an after-effect. This is where we find the difference between group discussion and debate. In debate the aim is to make the minority accept the position of the majority either through the force of numbers or through the force of oratory. The Parliamentary system is essentially based upon debate. It is the majority decision that forms the basis for social action. Consequently there is always a feeling of dissatisfaction in the opposition groups. But the modern Legislatures are also adopting the group decision techniques by setting up committees of the houses. At the committee stage the party majority and minority does not operate. There is a detached and objective discussion about the particular Bill. The ruling party may accept the suggestions of the opposition group without having to accept any defeat. Thus in social integration based on group discussion, no individual will lose his status, because ultimately it is the group decision and not a party decision or the decision of a single person that will prevail.

C. *Mechanisms of social interaction*

In this section we can consider a few of the mechanisms of social interaction. In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to enunciate clearly all the mechanisms involved in social interaction. An attempt will be made to put together some of the mechanisms which have been considered to be very fundamental, and far-reaching in their influence on social behaviour.

As we shall see in a subsequent part a good deal of social behaviour is due to learning. But it is not necessary for us to discuss the problems related to learning itself. To obtain a knowledge of the fundamental laws of learning the reader may go through the chapter on learning in any book of general psychology or of educational psychology.

(a) CONDITIONING PROCESS

The importance of conditioning in social interaction has been recognised long ago. A reference may be made in passing to the Indian doctrine of *samskara* which appears to have anticipated the modern theory of conditioning. As a matter of fact it was only in 1898 that Pavlov discovered by experimental procedure the mechanism of conditioning. In his classical experiment Pavlov showed that the dog salivated when a bell rang after a series of trials when the original stimulus food was presented in conjunction with the conditioning stimulus, the bell (4). A little later in 1912 Watson showed that the child becomes frightened of the rat when the rat is presented along with a metalic sound which by itself frightens him (5). In 1925 Allport made use of the conditioning mechanism to explain the learning process as well as the general imitative behaviour in the child (6). In 1931 Holt formulated what he calls the ' echo ' principle. He wrote : " A child will learn to echo back in action of another provided that another's performance of the act stimulates any of the child's sense organs at a moment when the child is engaged in a random performance of the same act " (7). For example, when the child learns pat-a-cake what happens is that the child makes at random clapping movements. The parent perceives this and claps his hands and calls out ' pat-a-cake '. Later on whenever a child sees the action, or hears the words, it

starts clapping.   Some of the later authors look upon the formula of classical conditioning as inadequate and, following Skinner, explain a number of conditioning phenomena in terms of instrumental conditioning or reinforcement.   According to this approach the learning is due to the rewards and satisfactions like, for example, comfort, affection, food etc.   Right from the moment of birth, in the animals as well as in human beings, conditioning responses are built up.   Murphy writes : " To a considerable extent the complex fabric of our emotional life is developed by a process of elaboration of simple emotional process through conditioning " (8.157).   In daily social life the infant becomes conditioned to several signals which become significant or instrumental in its life.   One of the important things about this mechanism of conditioning is that learning goes on without awareness, long before any awareness at all is possible, in the infant and child.   Further the conditioning processes also help us to understand how a good deal of modification may go on even in the adult life without awareness.   "Words which are regularly followed by electric shocks, later come to arouse withdrawing movements and also inner disturbances shown by the galvanic skin reflex.   Although the subject may not remember that the word was followed by a shock, the word produces the inner disturbance.   One has learnt at the visceral level what he has not learnt at the verbal level. Social learning of this sort may be of great importance in the tension, fear, prejudice situation, though its nature never becomes clear to the learner " (8.162-3).   To give just two illustrations, we may consider the behaviour of the child in " pooja " room or in the temple, as well as the behaviour of the child towards the people of the higher castes.   As we know the mother puts the infant flat on the floor before the sacred image.   A series of such repetitions lead the child as well as the adult to go through this movement whenever he sees the sacred object or sacred person. This is not to imply that there are no higher processes than conditioning involved in this behaviour.   This is only to illustrate that even in such superior forms of behaviour like religious behaviour the element of conditioning is at the base.   Similarly we find that the parents of the lower castes make their infant or child to do the act of *namaskar*

and take the appropriate posture of bending the head, bending the shoulders and the look of humility. This process of the relationship between the higher and the lower castes starts long before the child is aware of the social distinctions, but they reinforce the social distinctions.

There is also experimental evidence of " subliminal " conditioning. For example, in a reaction time experiment the subject was asked to lift his hand from the key at the light signal. With practice, reaction time came down to 0.2 of a second. At this stage the experimenter inserted a tiny cylinder into the external ear which could produce a sound when the switch was put on. This humming was subliminal. None of the subjects could tell when this humming started or stopped. In the next series of reaction time experiment the subliminal auditory stimulus was given a fraction of a second before the light stimulus. With practice it was found that the reaction time was reduced to 0.1 of a second. In other words the subject had been conditioned to the subliminal humming (8.163).

" It is likely that a large part of our intuitive evaluation of social situation, our ' instinctive ' hesitancy to join a game, our ' instinctive ' trust in a man with a bold proposal, is based in a large measure upon subliminal conditioning. We learn day by day, the meaning of gestures, facial expression, tone of voice ; but a great deal that we learn functions beneath the level of consciousness, or may be above the threshold of consciousness to-day and function just as well when below it tomorrow " (8.163-4). It is a matter of common experience that sometimes a dog or a child may evaluate a stranger better than an adult.

It is possible to inhibit or eliminate a conditioning response by introducing a second conditioning. Technically this is known as " inhibition conditioning ". To illustrate this, we know that the child is frightened by thunder. It may be helped to overcome this fear by the parents fondling it or giving a sweet etc. But a third conditioning may break down the inhibition. If the child is punished by the parent it may become frightened of the thunder once again. A number of behaviour problems in child guidance clinics illustrate similar situations. " At a more complex level, involving a wide range of other factors, chiefly symbolic, a man under the stimulus of a religious revival, a lynching

mob, or strong nationalistic ideology may find that he unconsciously (unwittingly) releases aggressive or fear reactions which have long been out of his routine conscious experience " (3.99).

The conditioning process has been used in psychotherapy also. Yates reports the case of a girl of 15 who was troubled by her habit of bursting into tears when she was with men, particularly with her father. " The remedy lay in building strong associations of relaxation, calmness and security with a word regarded by the subject as particularly meaningful, in this case, the word ' Calm ' " (9.91). The therapist made her relax and instructed her to think of the word ' calm ' and associate it with ' peace ', ' security ', and ' wellbeing '. After some practice the patient found that she could reinstate the condition of physical and mental relaxation and composure by telling herself the word ' calm ' ". A reference may be made here to the widespread practice in Indian culture of the use of the words " *Om shanthi shanthi shanti* ", which eliminate tension and bring about calmness and equanimity.

We can next take up what McDougall (10) called the non-specific innate tendencies namely, sympathy, imitation and suggestion. As Allport puts it : " Most social psychologists of the 19th century thrived on unitary explanations. Each tended to select and develop one simple and sovereign formula that seemed to him to hold the key to social behaviour " (11.9). Without either looking upon any one of these processes to give us a sovereign formula to explain all social behaviour or agreeing with McDougall regarding his views, we might here consider the significance of these three modes of interaction in social behaviour.

(b) SYMPATHY

Long ago Adam Smith (1759) and Herbert Spencer (1870) distinguished between two forms of sympathy. Firstly there is the almost quick response to feel like what the other man feels. For example, when a person is hit with a stick and cringes we also cringe. This has been explained by the earlier writers as instinctive. But the modern view tries to explain it on the basis of the conditioning reflex formula We cringe when we are hit and later the visual cues lead us to respond in the same way. McDougall called this the

primitive passive sympathy. The perception of sorrow in the other makes us feel in the same way; but this might lead us constantly to be having the same feelings and emotions which the others around us are experiencing. McDougall tried to avoid this dilemma by asserting that laughter is the mechanism by which we overcome this. Further, on many occasions the sympathetically induced pain may overwhelm us and incapacitate us to render any kind of help at all. To illustrate, when your father falls down by slipping on a banana peel you may feel the same pain and rush to help him or be overwhelmed by the pain and become unable to move and render any help or you may even laugh and possibly feel ashamed of yourself or guilty at your behaviour.

The second type of sympathy is, as Herbert Spencer puts it, more complex and reflective. We may sympathize with others even though we do not feel as they feel. Adam Smith tried to derive our sense of justice from the operation of sympathy.

Closely related to sympathetic understanding is *Empathy*. It is the ability to put oneself in the position of the other person and realise what he feels. It is the ability to identify oneself with the other. We see illustrations of this in the play life of the child as well as in the role play of the actors on the stage and also in the role play in vocational adjustments. Empathy involves the taking the role of another in imagination. If we are unable to imagine ourselves in the kind of conduct which another displays we may regard such conduct as inhuman or nonhuman. Lois Murphy (1937) analysed thousands of cases of behaviour among the nursery school children. She found aggressive acts as well as sympathetic acts. " The insecure child may be very unsympathetic; his own needs and fears are too pressing to permit consideration of others; on disappearance of his insecurity his sympathy may suddenly show an extraordinary development " (8.302).

Sometimes ethno-centrism is looked upon as directly opposed to sympathy and empathy. If an individual identifies himself with his own family, or religion or country and looks upon it as the best, he may find himself unable to sympathetically understand people of other groups. This leads to intolerance. But the underlying

phenomenon is the same, whether it is ethno-centrism or universalism. Homogeneity facilitates empathy. If it is restricted we have cliques and hostility towards other religious and national groups. But if it is extended towards the whole of humanity or towards the whole of the universe there will be absence of intolerance and prejudice. " The more similarity there is between the perceiver and the perceived person or object the greater the degree of empathy and understanding and identification that is possible " (12.9).

(c) IMITATION

While sympathy is feeling the same as another, imitation is doing the same as what the other is doing. By the earlier writers imitation was looked upon as an instinctive process. . By some sociologists imitation was looked upon as a sovereign principle that can explain all social behaviour. The similarity in neuro-muscular system among all human beings and the fundamental organic drives in all human beings enable us to understand why imitation is quite extensive in society. Added to these two is the similarity in cultural environment. "When one recalls the identical mechanisms of learning in all human beings and the common patterns of personal, social and cultural environment to which individuals are exposed, it is not difficult to understand why human behaviour in many dimensions of life is similar in form and content " (3.109-10).

According to Faris (13) there are three types of imitation behaviour. (a) The slow unwitting imitation. The infant and the child adopt the patterns of behaviour of the home and the group in a slow unwitting manner. We acquire our speech as well as the gestures in a gradual way. This is the way in which we acquire our social heritage.

(b) The second is quick immediate and unreflective imitation. This is what happens in the boys' gangs as well as in the adult crowds. We do without reflecting what the other members of the crowd do ; whether it is giving donations or setting fire to property.

(c) Finally there is conscious deliberate imitation. We copy the techniques of other peoples. The industrialization as well as the improved methods of agriculture in the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa is a deli-

berate imitation of the western forms. There is also the problem of fashions where we imitate the fashions of the people with prestige. Imitation thus is a process of inter-action which takes place at different levels in social deve-lopment and different situations in social life.

(d) SUGGESTION

The phenomenon of suggestion has been defined as the uncritical acceptance of an idea. Often times we accept certain ideas not because 'we have thought critically about them but because of certain circumstances. By the end of 19th century Charcot showed the influence of suggestion in hysteria and other abnormal states of mind. Le Bon showed the influence of suggestion in mob behaviour or mob hysteria. So this concept became very important and was looked upon as a key idea which will help us to under-stand nearly all problems in social psychology. Let us now try to understand how suggestion operates in social behaviour. Suggestion may operate directly or indirectly. The mother uses direct suggestions when she wants to influence the child. She is full of a number of ' do that ' or ' dont do that '. Similarly the teacher in the school gives a number of suggestions. A good deal of our reli-gious convictions are due to suggestions from the parents and others in childhood. But it is not always the direct suggestions that work. For example, the child may resist. if the mother says ' go to sleep '. On the other hand if the mother makes an indirect suggestion " It is bed time ", the child may accept and go to bed. When suggestion is due primarily to the inhibition of thinking it is called direct suggestion. On the other hand when it is due to a dissociation it is known as indirect suggestion. The plat-form speaker as well as the advertiser make use of both these kinds of suggestion. The professional auctioneer, for example, may announce that he will sell ten articles at the rate of one per minute irrespective of the value of bidding. He may take out his watch and proceed with the auction. The group will be at first sluggish and they may not bid. When the first two or three articles are sold by auction at a very cheap cost the members of the audience begin to compete with each other and the last five or six articles may be sold at very high figures. Similarly in the

crowd behaviour the emotional excitement inhibits think-
ing. There is the apparent necessity for quick action. There
is also the stress and self-interest. Consequently the mem-
bers of the group will readily accept the suggestion put
forward by the leader.

Among the factors favouring indirect suggestion are
interests and routine habits. A person who has a major
interest in one field will be critical about the matters con-
cerning that field. But in respect of ideas about other
fields he becomes very suggestible. Similarly our habits
make us accept whatever is in line with them. A thief
may put on the policeman's clothes and threaten people.
A sturdy man may use the disguise of a broken arm or a
broken leg and make begging into a successful profession.
Indirect suggestion also works readily among the people
with low intelligence.

There are many factors which favour indirect suggestion
by inhibiting thought. As we have seen already emotional
excitement leads to heightened suggestibility. We find this
both in individual behaviour as well as in crowd behaviour.
" The individual says and does things in response to sug-
gestions in fear, anger and desire that he would not do or
say otherwise." The Bhagavad Gita for instance says that
an integrated man is characterised by " *Vita raga bhaya
krodhaha* ". He is free from desire, fear and anger. When
we are emotionally overpowered we believe false tales and
act on their strength. Similarly in the crowd situation
due to the emotional excitement individuals believe and
react with violence. Also when a person is fatigued,
drowsy and sleepy he becomes more suggestible. More
important is the prestige of numbers and quantity.
People are impressed by large numbers. There is prestige
in size and magnitude. This applies to objects as well as
peoples. In politics it is the size of the group that counts;
in economic life the amount of a man's income. The
advertiser increases the sale of the product by asserting that
millions of people use the article. Just as size and magni-
tude inhibit reflective thought and favour suggestion we
find that prestige of authority also induces suggestibility.
The source of authority may be the established religious
books and ceremonies or the pomp of the king or the
guru or the official pronouncement of the minister or the

expert opinion of a scientist or philosopher. Similarly what the elite of the society do or think becomes very influential. The printed word also obtains authority. Even the very manner of speaking, the tone of authority, will influence a man or a group to obey. Prestige suggestion has its roots in child behaviour. The child is asked to obey without questioning. We can refer to some very interesting experiments about influence of authority. In 1935 Sherif asked the students to indicate their preferences for 16 authors using the ranking method. A month later he took up 16 passages, all from one author, and ascribed them to 16 different authors and asked them to give their preferential judgment. Though the style was the same the subjects ranked the passages according to their preference for the authors (14). In 1936 Lorge gave the passage " I hold it that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in political world as storms are in the physical". This is a well known passage by Thomas Jefferson. When the name of the author was given as Thomas Jefferson the subjects generally approved the statement and interpreted the word *rebellion* to mean a minor agitation. But when the same passage was given to others as a statement by Lenin, they repudiated the statement by interpreting the word *rebellion* to mean a violent revolution (15). In 1921 Moore compared the influence of numbers with the prestige of expert opinion. The subjects were asked to give their preferential judgments concerning the linguistic expressions, ethical concepts and musical combinations. Later on they were given the preferences of the majority of the group and the preference of the experts to the same material. In both cases the subjects changed their preferences from their personal judgment to conform to the judgment of the majority and the judgments of the experts. Moore found that the prestige factor proved more effective in the field of ethical values and of the least value in the musical taste (16).

Social facilitation

On the basis of his experimental work F. H. Allport (6) gave experimental evidence regarding the increase in activity of an individual when he sees other individuals

doing the same or similar activities. The sights and sounds from the activities of others stimulate an individual to do more work. This is the effect of co-workers on us. As is well known we eat more and drink more when we are in the company of other people than when we are alone. Similarly women are able to knit faster when they are at a knitting party than when they are working alone at home. Experiments have been carried to find out to what extent the co-acting group affects the activities of an individual. Comparisons are made between the performance of a task when an individual is working alone and when he is working with others. There is here the problem of competition and in laboratory experiments attempts have been made by providing suitable instructions to the individuals not to compete with others. Further, attempts have been made to study the difference between the individual performance, the performance with co-acting groups and the performance, when there is competition. It has been found, as we shall see later (Ch. XVI) that competition increases the activity much more than the mere co-acting group itself. We are familiar with the institution of *suthra yagna* where a number of individuals sit together with or without an audience and spin thread out of Charka. The technique of *sutra yagna* has two factors : (a) social facilitation—increasing the amount of work and thus influencing the confidence of the individual about his productivity. (b) There is the social factor involving the imitation as well as group belonging.

A number of experiments were conducted from 1930—35 using various kinds of activities, like multiplication, cancellation of numbers and so on (17). All the various investigations gave rather similar results. The speed of performance increases but the subjects also reported some emotional excitement. On the other hand it was found that the quality of the work was poor. So we find that the experimental evidence shows an increase of performance in the co-acting group as compared with solitary work, but also a decrease in efficiency and quality of work. In the group situation four to five subjects worked together while at the solitary task the subject was in a separate room. Allport drew a distinction between the effects of rivalry and the effects of true facilitation. Rivalry leads to an intensification of activity through emotional reinforcements

while social facilitation leads to intensification of an activity due to the direct effect of the sight and sound of others working. Such a direct effect may be found even in one's own activities by way of conditioning stimuli. The sight and sound of one's own actions facilitates further action by way of conditioning what may be called self-stimulation. In the same way the sights and sounds of other working groups become contributory conditioning stimuli leading to facilitation. It is possible that over and above such elementary conditioning there may be the influence of attitude also. Because we know that other people are doing similar work we may put in more exertion. Of course the exertion may become much more in rivalry. The distractions arising in the group situation may lead to compensation and increased exertion. Dashiell found a difference between a subject working alone and a subject working alone when other people are doing similar work in other rooms. There was social facilitation in the latter situation also. In other words there is a social facilitation even when there is not the direct sight and sound of other people working, but the mere awareness that others are also working (17). Thus the effect of competition cannot be successfully eliminated. Another effect of the group upon the individual performance is the setting up of " out-put norms ". The different people who are now working together will more or less work at about the same speed. Consequently we find that the man who did the best in the alone situation will not gain much in the co-working situation. Whereas the man whose performance is poor in the alone situation will gain considerably. Thus even in such a simple situation as that of working in a co-acting group we find that over and above the sights and sounds of others working, there may be stimulation due to some other motivating factors.

Social inhibition

When we are being watched by other people there is a decrease in our performance. This is social inhibition. As is well known there is the stagefright which makes a person anxious when he makes a public speech or when he appears before a board of interview. The experimental work has

been made to find out how performance is affected by the presence of an audience. The audience may be of two varieties. It may be passive or it may be deliberately threatening, creating tense situation. Most investigators have found that performance decreases when an audience is present. Combs and Taylor (18) found a big difference between solitary work and work before an audience in a translation task. Several investigators have also found that besides a decrease in quantity there is also an increase in errors. Cowen (19) found an increased rigidity at problem solving in the audience situation. Attention may be drawn to the familiar experience of the inhibiting effects which we notice on the conversation of two or three people when we pass by them. The presence of another person moving and the possibility of his overhearing, may lead to an inhibition in the flow of conversation. The conversation may stop for a couple of minutes and start once again. Social inhibition may in part be due to past conditioning. The child when he learns to be obedient has to curtail its expressions when it is in front of the parents. Even when one is grown up the presence of another individual or group of individuals may have the same inhibiting effect. Of course, this does not prevent our overcoming, by further learning, such inhibition effects. There is also the inhibiting effect which arises out of the arousal of emotions by the presence of other people, particularly our thought processes are affected by the presence of people whom we hate or fear.

Identification

The psychoanalysts have shown that identification and projection have very important social consequences. In identification the individual reacts to other persons as if they were a part of himself. In projection the individual makes his own behaviour part of external world. To put it in another way while in identification we look upon the success of other people as our own, in projection we impute our failures to other people. When our College wins in a football tournament each student of the College feels proud of the achievement. He feels that he himself has done something magnificent. Social identification starts

7

very early in life when the child is making adjustments to his environment. The helpless child looks upon the parents as a means for the fulfilment of his own wishes. The parent also helps in this. What the child is unable to do the parents will do and make him feel that he himself has contributed to the performance of the act. We also find often that children at school proudly refer to the achievement of their parents and thus establish their own superiority. For the parents also this kind of posing as an ideal model helps them to control their children effectively. With growth the child may lose his early identification with his parents and it will now be shifted to his friends and other social groups. As we know not only the students but adults also try to enhance their ego by joining several organizations. Even doctrines of racial superiority have their roots in the social identification. The individual feels very superior because he belongs to a superior race. Society also excuses a man when he praises the group as a whole compared with its attitude when he tries to praise himself or when he tries to praise another individual. The group can identify itself with the group as a whole rather than with a particular individual excepting when it comes to individuals who have done outstanding work. The Indian, for example, feels very proud of Buddha, Gandhi, Tagore and other national leaders. He feels that he is partaking in the glory of these national leaders. As we shall see later on this mechanism of identification has its own virtues as well as its dangers both in the building up of the individual as well as the building up of the group solidarity.

Social projection

One of the outstanding characteristics of a person's consciousness is its external reference. We are aware of persons and things around us and we behave in a world of persons and things whether we avoid them or go towards them. As Freud has shown an aspect of this external reference is projection. In projection an individual responds to his own weaknesses and feels as if they are a part of the external world rather than a part of himself. It must be realised that projection is a fundamental mechanism

which is present in normal as well as abnormal behaviour.

The external world to which we react is not entirely objective. The analysis of the perceptual process clearly shows that in every perception the present stimulus as well as our past experiences are involved. Long ago the ancient Indian thinkers spoke about " *savikalpa prathyaksha* " — perception with supplementation. Consequently the world to which we respond is made of what is objective as well as what is subjective. Thus we find that we put into the people and objects a part of ourselves. This is at once advantageous and dangerous. Both perception as well as inaccurate perception are due to this process of supplementation. In social projection we project our own wishes and desires into other people. A melancholic man looks upon the world as a sad place and looks upon the other human beings as mean and selfish and greedy. On the other hand when we are optimistic, we look at the whole world with cheerfulness. We have the tendency to perceive our fellow human beings as behaving in terms of our own desires and wishes. We read into their utterances and actions what we want to believe. Even a person of the political minority group assumes that his views are more prevalent in the group as a whole than what they really are. As we know every man who seeks election to an office feels absolutely sure that he will be elected. He stresses the importance of his supporters and minimises the influence of his opponents. Otherwise so many people will not seek election either as partymen or as independents.

Social projection is involved in our perception of the meaning of social events. The communist for example always feels that the revolution is just around the corner. Every industrial conflict or agrarian conflict is to him a sign that there is wide discontent and he makes use of all these opportunities to build up the strength of his own party. Every political party interprets the social events in terms of its own predilections. This is what gives strength to the various political parties whether in majority or minority.

As the psychoanalysts have shown projection occurs readily in an individual who has a basic conflict to resolve. Who is the individual who is free from conflicts ? This is why we find that projection is not a phenomenon res-

tricted to abnormal behaviour but is something ubiquitous. When we have some desires which are not in line with the rest of our personality there is conflict and conflict is something painful. One of the means that we employ is to attribute these desires to other people. When we look upon such desires as characteristics of our neighbours we can then condemn the others most violently. This is the way in which we try to avoid the painfulness of self-reproach. So the person avoids pain and humiliation by projecting his fault on other people, and by rebuking the fault in the others effectively. Thus projection is a substitute for the unpleasant experience of self-reproach. This is why when a person possesses some fault or deficiency of which he is ashamed, he will be notoriously intolerant of others with the same or similar faults. Whenever we meet a person with projection we may suspect that the individual himself may be having that fault.

There is also another form of projection. We may project not the unwelcome impulses but the moral sentiment which condemns it. Such a person is constantly on the defensive against imaginary criticisms. He is always ready to check offence. He interprets the words and deeds of others as veiled slights to himself. In the pathological cases this form of projection may lead to hallucinations. The patient may hear voices denouncing him.

Thus we find that projection implies a lack of insight. If we are honest we can recognize the deficiencies in ourselves. When we recognize our own deficiencies there is no need to resort to projection. In 1936 Sears (20) conducted a very interesting experiment to study projection. He asked a group of people to rate themselves as well as the other members of the group on the following traits : stinginess, obstinacy, disorderliness and bashfulness. He tried to get an objective measure of insight by comparing a person's self-rating on the given trait with the average rating given to him by his associates. He obtained a measure of projection on the basis of the average rating which an individual had assigned to other people. Sears found that in general the people who lacked insight into themselves attributed more of their traits to other people in comparison with those who had insight. He also found that those who were accurate in their self-rating imputed

the opposite traits to their fellows. For example, the students who realised their own stubborn dispositions tended to look upon others as pliable and agreeable. Further Sears found that the people with insight did not regard such traits as stinginess and obstinacy as reprehensible. It was the people who lacked insight that tended to look upon such traits as reprehensible.

Thus we find that the people with insight into themselves tend to overcome the tendency to project. We can now understand the insistence in the East as well as in the West on self-knowledge. The social interactions of a person with self-knowledge, with deep insights into himself, will tend to be more realistic and objective.

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SOCIAL NORMS, ROLES AND STATUS

Social norms

IN THE COURSE of human interaction social norms are developed which regulate behaviour within the group and between groups. According to Sherif " A social value or norm is standardised in the course of human interaction in relation to those aspects of life that have some consequence in the scheme of things of the particular group " (1-27). Thus a social norm is a generalization. Further it is something which is affectively charged. It involves value judgment. An act is approved or disapproved. It is looked upon as an ideal or it is condemned. Thus the formation of social norms is possible because of man's conceptual level of functions and the use of language. The social norms are transmitted from generation to generation through language. Thus the past of every group influences the present behaviour. The standard generalizations of the past generation influence the present generation.

The term social norm is a generic term including social standards, customs, traditions, rules, folkways, fads and fashions. In other words some social norms are transitory like fads and fashions which change frequently ; some social norms functioning through ages are deep seated in the life of the group, like the ways, customs and traditions. Finally some social norms are creative and constructive ; some individual or group of individuals may bring about new standards of conduct and new social values, which may be based upon the customs and traditions of the group but which lead the group forward in a constructive way. As we know Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave have changed Indian life considerably by their constructive approach to certain social values. But they have based these social values on the experiences and traditions of India and that is why these changes are accepted in a gradual way. Though radical their norms do not appear

to the individuals as something which have completely changed their way of life. Indians feel that they are continuing with slight modifications their traditional way of life.

Social norms are evaluative. They involve valuation on certain modes of behaviour in relation to persons, objects or situations. They also set up expectations of behaviour. Other individuals expect a given individual to behave in a particular way.

Social norms are not formed with respect to every kind of behaviour. We find that the norms relate to certain areas of life which are matters of consequence to the group. This depends upon the main purposes and goals of the group and the relationship of the group to the other groups.

Another feature of the social norm is that it allows a considerable amount of latitude. As Sherif puts it " Social values or norms seldom specify just one point or one single way of behaviour. Like all concepts, norms encompass a *range* of behaviour which is tolerable (permissible) to the group. The *range of tolerable behaviour* varies in extent, specificity or permissiveness both in terms of the importance of the matter a norm pertains to and in terms of the position of a particular member in the group hierarchy " (1.171). We may find that in minor matters, the range of tolerable behaviour is considerable, but in vital matters concerning existence and stability of the group, the range will be narrower. Thus the existence of social norms should not be construed to mean that the behaviour of the society is something rigid. It allows a good deal of latitude and variability of behaviour. Particularly in modern differentiated societies an individual will belong to a number of groups which may even have conflicting or even contradictory norms. Because of his family a man belongs to a particular religious organization, because of his profession he may belong to another kind of organization. On the basis of his wealth he may become a member of a fashionable club with its own norms of behaviour. All these groups may not cherish the same norms. This may lead to a conflict in the mind of the individual and it is possible that he may try to avoid this conflict by giving up affiliation with certain organizations, or he may try to bring about certain adjustments in his behaviour in order that he can

adjust himself to the varying group demands.

Even in informal organized groups social norms may arise. For example, the street corner boys gangs may develop their own rules and regulations. Similarly even groups which rebel against organized society may form their own norms. For example, the political revolutionary groups may have very strict social norms. Even a group of thieves or gangsters will develop their own norms and probably among these groups the range of tolerable behaviour may be much more narrow.

The norms of a group may be informal like rules of the games of children or they may codify them into written rules and constitutions like the standardized games of tennis, cricket and so on. Similarly we find that the norms of the group behaviour among the villagers and among the caste groups are unwritten, whereas the group as a whole may have its own written law and constitution. As is well-known Great Britain has no written constitution whereas India has a written constitution. Even in economic matters we find that the norms may be regulated by the written law or the unwritten law. A promise to repay a borrowed sum of money may be a mere oral promise or may be written on an ordinary piece of paper or on a stamped paper. Thus social norms may have a written organized form or they may be unwritten but yet quite strong.

If a group does not have written rules, how do we know that it has got social norms ? As Freedman and others have pointed out (2), by observing the behaviour of individuals in a group we can notice striking similarities in the behaviour of different individuals. It is possible that some of them express it in words and refer to them as group standards or they may not be able to do so but still they conform to these norms. Secondly, we find that the group will have certain sanctions ;. behaviour in conformity to the group norm will be rewarded and behaviour which is not in conformity with the group norm may be punished. We can observe these sanctions in operation and thus determine the nature of the social norms. An individual who behaves according to prescribed group norms may be praised, may be accorded prestige and recognition, while on the contrary, the individual who deviates from the

group norms may be punished with ridicule.

A careful investigation will show the existence of social norms in an informal, nevertheless forceful way. In the factory, a group of workers may set up a certain norm of production and any individual who produces more than this limit will be punished by the group in several ways by ridicule, by withdrawal, or even with physical punishment. A member of the group realises that unless he conforms to the group behaviour he will have a very painful life ; if he conforms he gets approval or even praise and affection from other members of the group. This is so, not only among the workers in a factory but even among the teachers in a school or doctors in a hospital. The teacher who has undergone his training and comes to the school may try to put into operation some of the methods of education which he learnt in the teacher's college. But before long he will find that his life in the group becomes intolerable if he pursues such practices. Ultimately the bulk of the teachers end up by conforming to the group norms in the school. Those who are very idealistic may avoid the situation by probably resigning from the school and either going to another school with progressive ideas or by starting a new institution of their own. There is a similar behaviour among the doctors in the hospital. New practices in medicine or surgery do not spread easily because of this resistance set up by the group norm. In the recent years attempts have been made to lower or to eliminate the resistance of this kind, which prevents new practices and progressive measures, by the setting up of research units in each section, by the publication and use of research journals. A good deal of the trouble with respect to adoption of improved methods of agriculture in the country is due to these social norms. A young farmer, who is educated by new techniques, when he goes back to his village and tries to practise these new techniques will find that he is treated with contempt and scorn ; that his methods are all ridiculed by the other members of the group. The only way to overcome this is by setting up research units which operate with the cooperation of the progressive farmers within the Hobli or Tehsil.

Thus deviations from the norm are prevented by the members of the group irrespective of whether the deviation

is in the interests of the group as a whole or not. This is at the basis of resistance to change. All kinds of pressures are applied by group members in order to secure conformity to norms. Further these pressures also indicate the existence of the norms. As a matter of fact conformity and deviation are meaningful only when an individual is a member of the group which possesses the norm. The group does not expect conformity to the norms from a stranger. The solidarity of the group is indicated by behaviour of the members of the group within the range prescribed by its norm ; but if overt pressures or coercion toward conformity becomes a necessary feature, this indicates that the solidarity of the group is at a very low level.

The formation of social norms

A study of the formation of social norms will be very useful in understanding the nature of the social norms by examining the way in which the social norms originate. Further, by a study of the norm formation we can also understand the process through which an individual acquires the standard values and aspirations of the group to which he belongs. To the growing child as well as to a new member of the organized group the social reforms are at first external. The norms are revealed through the actions and words of the other people. In 1932 the Swiss psychologist Piaget published his studies of the development of children's ideas of right and wrong (3). He showed that the moral judgment of the child goes through various levels of growth. He studied the way in which children learn to play marbles. Piaget found four stages in the response to right and wrong. The little children first began to play the marbles by watching the bigger boys playing them. When asked who won, they simply said that everybody won. In other words the child was just enjoying the activity and he was not making any judgment in terms of success and failure, or in terms of fair and unfair methods. When the child is about 4—5 years of age he learns the rules of the game and he rigidly adheres to them. In the second stage the moral rules are just as objective as the marbles themselves. Every thing is objectively right or objectively wrong. There is no other way of playing

marbles. Piaget calls this stage that of *moral realism*. If a child is told that children in other localities have different rules of playing marbles he does not understand it. According to him they do not play the real game of marbles. In the third stage when the child is about 7—8 years of age he starts to recognize that the rules are made by people. So he looks upon the rules not as fixed and absolute, above the human wishes and needs, but as arrangements made by human device. Consequently he changes his whole conception of what is fair and what is unfair. Thus as the child matures by interaction with other children he grasps the notion of reciprocity. In the process of reciprocal interaction the child realises that norms are based on mutual agreement. He further realises that these rules can be changed and that new rules can be made. The fourth stage appears around the period of adolescence. The boy realises that reciprocity is not always possible. Reciprocity depends upon the realisation that you can play the marble game in any manner you like provided everybody else can play in the same way. If the rule applies to all, the rule is satisfactory. But there are individuals to whom these rules cannot be applied. Reciprocity is to be tempered by considerations of equity ; namely the recognition of the special circumstances, the special needs which characterise a given individual. / Thus in this stage the boy not only realises that the other people have the same rights but he grasps the need to realise that the other person's situation may be different from his own. This enables him to look upon the moral judgment as not something arbitrary but as something dependent upon the personal factor.

Piaget has shown that a child's ideas of right and wrong in the home follows a similar process of growth. When a child was asked what she would do when another girl unwittingly knocks over a tray of dishes and breaks them, she said that the girl must be punished. When she was asked how much punishment she would give, the child replied that it depended upon the dishes she has broken. Thus at this stage wrong-doing is an objective thing and it can be measured in terms of damage done. The subjective considerations, the intentions of the child, whether she deliberately broke the dishes or not, are irrelevant at this stage. But by the time she is six or seven years of age,

she goes beyond this purely physical and external situation and tries to find out why the other girl broke the dishes. This is a recognition that the same external act may arise from different kinds of internal attitudes. Thus Piaget has shown that the social norms are not acquired all at once. They come slowly as a result of interaction, on increasing experience of dealing with people of different outlooks and the personal needs of different individuals.

Norm formation in the laboratory

In 1936 Sherif (4) designed an experiment to demonstrate how norms are formed. He used a stimulus situation which was lacking in objective structure. He studied two problems : one the individual and the other the social. What will an individual do when he is asked to make judgments about a stimulus situation which lacks an objective structure, when there is no comparison with other aspects of the external stimulus field ? Secondly, how will a group react under such conditions ? He used the autokinetic situation to conduct these studies. When a single small light is shown in complete darkness the resulting experience is that the spot of light appears to move erratically in all directions. The person who sees this light is unable to judge the distance between him and the light. Further, the light may appear at different places in the room. This is because he is unable to localise definitely the point of light, as the whole room is dark. There is nothing in reference to which the light could be located. Consequently the light appears to move. This apparent movement takes place even when the subject knows perfectly that the light is not moving. The extent of the movement is used as a quantitative index to study the formation of norms. A hundred judgments were obtained from each subject. The light was exposed for 2 seconds, it was physically stationary. The results show that the subjects tended to establish a range. Sherif found that each subject quickly built up for himself a characteristic norm. Some subjects expressed all their judgments within a range of one to 3 inches ; others felt that the light moved anywhere from 9" to 11 ". To begin with the judgments of distance of movement might vary considerably but before long there was a self-established

narrow range. Thus this experiment established that when an individual is perceiving an unrelated stimulus, after a few repetitions, he is able to establish a norm around a fairly limited range. Sherif tried to find how the individual will react when he is in company with other individuals in the situation. Twenty subjects started from the alone situation and after they had established their own norms they were put into group situation. Another batch of 20 people started with group sessions and they were put into the alone situation afterwards. In the group sessions some times there were two people sometimes three people. When individuals who had developed their own norms were put together in the group situation it was found that there was a convergence between their judgments and, before long, a norm peculiar to group was established. Thus there was a difference between individual norm and the group norm ; whatever may be individual norm, in the group situation, a group norm developed.

In the case of the individuals who started with the group situation a similar result was found. Each started with his own judgments regarding the extent of movement but soon the group norm was established. Subsequently when these individuals were put into the alone situation it was found that the norm which was established in the group situation persisted. Thus we find that in the new group situation there is an interaction and the norm which emerges is due to this interaction. Further the effect of this interacting situation persists later on when the individual is by himself. In other words the group norm once it is established becomes the individual's own norm.

He found that the social norm or the group norm gravitated towards the norm established by a dominating person but by further experiments Sherif was able to show that this is not merely the result of the domination of one individual. It was found that once the group norm was established later on if the leader deviated from the norm, the group did not change. Thus the group norm when once it is established becomes powerful on its own.

In another experiment (5) Sherif demonstrated that the prestige relationships between individuals had considerable effects on the norms. One of the two individuals in the experiment was a new person and the other was a collabo-

rator with the experimenter who had considerable prestige with the new person. The new subject after some exposures established her own standard at about 5 ". After this the collaborator gave a judgment of 12 ". In the later situation the new subject increased the extent to 8" and when the collaborator persisted with her 12" judgment, gradually the new subject also came up to 12" norm. After this the collaborator expressed that the experimenter had now changed the set up and that the light was moving only 3". This produced an interesting situation. Though the new subject also shifted her norm from 12" in the direction of 3" she showed considerable resistance during the sessions and it was found that this brought about a hostility towards the experimenter and that this attitude of hostility and annoyance persisted for quite a long time.

When the individuals who started with the alone situation and had established their own norms entered into the group situation their introspective reports revealed that some times they were aware that they were adjusting to the judgments of other individuals but often the individuals did not realise that they were converging. Consequently this awareness or lack of awareness did not affect the situation. The group interaction leads to emergence of a group norm in either case. The matter of interest in this experimental situation is that the subjects were not moved by any common interest or threat in order to develop the group norm. The mere interactional situation itself led to the development and formation of the group norm. " It is evident that the convergence toward a common norm by individuals in interaction is not due to any one sovereign factor, like a supposedly basic need to conform or innate suggestibility, but to a number of interrelated factors coming from the individuals, the objective stimulus situation, and the interaction process " (1.266).

Blake and Brehm (6) found that common norms are formed even when the other persons are not actually present in the room. They used a tape recorder which gave out the judgments of other people and the subject was told that these people, whose voices they heard, were in other rooms. Thus the group atmosphere can be created by the mere use of the voice. This situation is strongly reminiscent of the several fables and mythologies where the indivi-

dual behaviour is altered by the use of the voice of God or the voice from no-where. Today we find evidence of this in the use of the radio and the television to influence the behaviour of an individual who is alone in his room. Thus the group situation does not necessarily involve the presence of the other individuals. The normal as well as the abnormal are influenced by the voices from no-where.

Sherif has shown experimentally how the group norm tends to be internalized by the individual. Consequently the norm persists even when the individual is in the alone situation. As Sherif writes : " The psychological basis of established social norms, such as stereotypes, fashions, conventions, customs and values, is the formation of common reference points or anchorages as a product of interaction among individuals. Once such anchorages are established and internalized by the individual, they become important factors in determining or modifying his reactions to the situation that he will face later alone — social or even non-social — especially if the stimulus field is not well structured ". (1.260).

Another important fact which emerges from this experimental work of Sherif is that the norms in the individual as well as in the group emerge when individuals and groups are faced with situations which are unstructured. The group situations are essentially of this unstructured variety where differing customs and traditions and functions develop. For example, with respect to what we eat and how we eat, the whole situation is unstructured and consequently there is full scope for social norms to develop : Similarly with respect to all the various critical situations in the life of the human group like birth, marriage, death, war, pestilence and so on.

Woodworth (7) has stressed the importance of social norms by pointing our attention to the way in which an individual builds up a code of conduct or adopts the code of the group. He has shown how the group norms follow ; for example, competition is stressed in the Western society and particularly in the American society. An individual who surpasses others in wealth or power may boast openly of his superiority. But in India, for instance, the social norm is different. Even though competition is stressed, an individual can win social approval and praise only

through service and modesty.   Personality difficulties may arise if there is disharmony between an individual's inclinations and the group standards.

The social role

Our perception of other individuals with whom we interact may lead to the adoption of social role.   Sociologists have looked upon social role as something which is imposed on an individual by the group.   This is certainly true particularly in the 'traditional social patterns.   The son of a monarch behaves like a prince and later as a monarch.

Similarly in the olden society caste rules brought about imposition of certain roles.   The untouchable child was taught by his parents and was expected by the members of the other groups to show deference to the other caste groups. Similarly even today we find that men and women accept certain roles imposed by, culture.   Society does not like a boy who behaves in a girlish way nor a man who behaves in a womanish manner.   Similarly the woman who behaves in a masculine fashion is not tolerated.   But these illustrations should not blind us to the fact that role taking is also determined by the individual himself.   As Woodworth has written : " Personality, from an ultra-social point of view, is the individual's response to the role imposed on him by the group.   To a student of individual differences it would seem more likely that each individual gravitates towards a role that suits his own characteristics, and that he finds his role or makes it rather than having it thrust upon him by arbitrary group action.   Once in a role he certainly develops according to the requirements and opportunities of that role " (7.180).   Thus the social role is partly dependent on the social situation and partly on the individual factor.

The child at home has a role to play.   His social role is to be weak and dependent, to be loved and admired.   But soon he has to get out of this role and grow and become more and more independent.   Thus both the parent as well as the child have to play their roles at home.   There may be difficulties both for the parent and for the child if these roles are not properly played.   If the child is constantly loved and admired and permitted to continue in this role he may become a spoilt child.   On the other hand if the

parents impose strict rules and regulations on the behaviour of the child he may become coweddown. Whether the child is treated as a favourite child or is neglected as an unwanted child there will be difficulties and we will have problem children. Adler has laid very great stress on the child's position in the family, the birth order. He believed that the role the child has to play in the family due to the order of birth will permanently affect the child's personality. Freud has used the concept of identification in order to show the importance of the role in a child's life. He has shown that the boy wants to be like his father, the girl wants to be like her mother. Social role is not only important within the home, it is also significant outside. Studies of play groups and street corner gangs have shown that the child finds his role in the group. When the child is with his friends he escapes from the role of a dependent and there is scope for his love of adventures. Boys gangs often have leaders. One boy may be "the brain of the gang", another may be "the dare devil", the third boy may play the part of the *vidushaka*, the fun-maker. Thus the activities of the gang require different kinds of roles, and we find that the boy, depending on his talents, will obtain and play the proper social role. It is possible that the higher roles of the gang may be obtained only by competition. In other words the roles in the gang are not merely determined by somebody or by the group as a whole. They are determined in a large measure by the personality and talents of each boy. It is possible that a boy, once he finds a congenial role, may further develop his personality to suit his role.

Most of the roles in society are reciprocal. Parent-child, husband-wife, host-guest, teacher-student, employee-employer, leader-follower, seller-customer and so on. We find that there is a reciprocity, each plays his role according to certain expectations and demands. There are also some roles which are situational roles. According to Sargent (8) these situational roles depend upon the personality variables. For instance the insecure person on account of his great need for recognition may play the role of a man of the world or he may become a bully or flirt. Sargent points out that the social role may be determined by the cultural, personal and situational factors. We find that age, sex,

occupation and class are very important factors which affect the pattern of social interaction. The individuals will adopt the corresponding roles. Thus both social requirements as well as individual needs may play a part in determining the role accepted or assumed by an individual. Moreno (9) has shown that "voluntary role taking" is therapeutic.

Newcomb (10) found in a study of the college community that objective roles were assigned to the members of the group on the basis of observable personality characteristics. He also found that there were self-assigned subjective roles. It is probable that the acceptance of the subjective roles depending upon the realities of the situation and resources of one's own personality are at a higher level both from the point of view of the individual as well as from that of the society in comparison with the mere acceptance of an objective role. One of the chief factors in the backward groups in the world may be this imposition of roles on individuals by others. On the other hand the highest development of an individual may be possible only when an individual decides upon his roles on the basis of his abilities and limitations.

We find that the social role is a matter of learning as well as perceiving. In the reciprocal roles each individual perceives the other individual in a definite role and adjusts his own behaviour. Of course the group norms play a very important part. The host must be cordial to the guests, receive them with affection ; reciprocally the guest has to play his own role by appropriate behaviour. These roles have to be learnt. It is only with experience that we are able to behave in the appropriate manner. In the traditional society it was assumed that these roles are pre-determined by birth or before birth, though it must be recognized that the traditional society took elaborate steps to train . the individuals to fit them for the roles.

We may accept the definition of the term social role by Sargent : "A person's role is a pattern or type of social behavior which seems situationally appropriate to him in terms of the demands and expectations of those in the group" (8.360). Thus social roles are an aspect of social interaction. A role has a meaning only in terms of interpersonal relationship : how each individual reacts to the

other individuals in the given situation. Thus the demands
and expectations of others play a very important part. We
learn to understand the demands and expectations and
develop the appropriate lines of behaviour. A further
important feature of the social role is that of internaliza-
tion. As Guthrie pointed out long ago : " We recognize a
description of ourselves, acknowledge our attributes or our
membership in a class and appropriate behavior follows the
thought " (11.139). When a man wears his clothes or buys
his clothes he accepts those which are appropriate to his
position and rejects the others. Newcomb has looked upon
the role attitude as an intervening variable between a
person's role as prescribed and the actual role behaviour.
First the parents or others may teach the individual about
the appropriate behaviour. Before long this will be inter-
nalized and the individual will learn to behave in an appro-
priate manner.

It must be borne in mind that the child learns the
various roles ; as the child grows it becomes more and more
familiar with its own roles and the roles that the adults
around are taking. In fact the child adopts many of these
roles in his play. He goes around the kitchen with the
mother or the cook and plays with pans and pots and
spoons. The toy manufacturers produce toys for kitchen
play and the parents purchase them and give them to the
children. When the visitors come to the house and when
the mother serves tea to the guests the child of two or three
may bring her ' tea-set ' and the mother may actually teach
the child to serve tea with her toy tea-set to the guests and
the guests may also pretend and drink the tea. When the
child goes through the proper movements it may be reward-
ed with praise and affection. If it goes through the wrong
movements it may be taught by the parents and the others
in the house. When the child learns to speak the role-
taking becomes much more extended. The child not only
acts but speaks appropriately. The child may play
the roles of several persons with whom he interacts.
"The child plays at being mother, nurse, fireman, airplane-
pilot and soldier. But, even more important than this,
he plays several roles in close succession. In imaginative
play he talks first as one assumed character, then as another,
and perhaps as himself. There is a rehearsal within of the

words of others to him and of his reply to them. He may one moment be store-keeper and the next a shopper. He goes through the interaction of selling himself make-believe candy. As policeman he may arrest himself; as traveller he delivers his make-believe ticket to himself as conductor. These various groups of stimuli and response, some actual, some imaginary, get organized into a wide range of separate roles. They are related to situations at home, on the playground, in school and wherever the child gets its fundamental social conditioning" (12.136-7). It is in this way that the child becomes familiar with the roles. He becomes familiar with not only what he is supposed to do but also with what the others do—inter-role familiarity. Both these are necessary in the social roles. We must know what to do and we must also know what we expect others to do.

This inter-dependence gives rise to the rights and obligations. Rights are what one is entitled to expect from others and obligations are what others are entitled to expect from us. Thus we find that the individuals become familiar with social roles through perception and interaction.

Role taking also involves motivation. It performs two distinctive functions. It satisfies the society when the individual behaves properly in the situation. It also satisfies the individual because behaviour leads to need reduction. It is possible that there may be conflict of roles which may bring about conflicts in motivation. We may give an illustration from the social life of children and youth today. For the first time large numbers of children are coming to schools and colleges in India from families which had never sent children to schools. The social norm in the villages as well as among the slum dwellers in the cities is for the children and youth to roam about. But the new social norm forces them to sit in the class-room and to pay attention to the studies. This is also a problem of role taking. Those children who have been brought up in educated homes learn to accept the role of a student at home as well as in the school. But the other children brought up by illiterate parents have to accept roles for which they have not been trained. The child in the educated home even in its second year takes a book and pretends to read. This is never done by the child in the illiterate home. So these children in schools as well

as the youths in the colleges do not pay sufficient attention to their studies. Consequently there is the cry that standards are going down. To give another illustration, we find that the problem of students' indiscipline is also a matter of role playing. During the days of Satyagraha against the British rule, the students took the role of national liberators. Even after independence is won the students are continuing to take the role of liberators. This is causing the society as well as the Government great alarm. So the national leaders, particularly of the ruling party, are today asking the students to play their role as students and not as heroes trying to set the society in order.

We also find that people who lack the skill to make accurate judgments of the reactions of other persons may read their own motives into the others. This is the process of projection. Sears (13) found that the students who rated themselves as others rated them had less tendency to project. In other words a well adjusted man is one who can take the role of the other, put himself in the place of the other man, so that he can anticipate his thoughts, feelings and perceptions. He can understand others. Otherwise he will misinterpret other people. Horney (14) characterises the neurotic as one who is all the time concerned about the way he appears to others. Thus the neurotic is conscious of himself and this self-consciousness leads to his troubles. The normal individual is hardly conscious of his role playing. He learns to behave in a smooth way. We become conscious of our roles when we take a new job. There may be an effort to do what one is expected to do. For example, a recruit to the army is all the time aware of the requirements of his new role, but with more experience he does his work habitually without being self-conscious.

Social status

Florence B. Moreno (15) in an investigation of the sociometric status of children in a nursery school group found that the interpersonal relationships depended upon such factors as I. Q., family prestige, family income etc. It was found that there were characteristic status patterns among the children and these persisted. Similarly among the school children as well as among the college youth, age

classification is involved in prestige levels. During these years of physical growth size, strength, knowledge, experience, are all closely related to age. Consequently the children of one standard will look upon the children of the higher standard in the school as being senior. Even in the college classes we can observe the same phenomenon. The senior students in the college are assigned high status by the junior students. Even within the family there are status differences between husband and wife, between the parents and children, and children of varying ages. " Even in the more informal groups, however, status considerations enter so thoroughly into the scope of any social interaction that it is a virtual necessity for each member to have a clear understanding of his own status if his actions are to be efficient and without confusion " (16.259). In a stable group most members will know each other and the status distinctions will be based on the character of the people. In the village, for example, every person knows every other person. Similarly in an office organization or in a factory each person has a definite position in the group and this gives him a status which is known by the other members of the group. Over and above these status considerations on the basis of the position occupied, status considerations may arise on the basis of the character of the people. It is possible that in an office or a factory a man with lower official status may have the regard of the other people in the group on account of his efficiency, character and such other aspects of his personality. But even in groups which are fleeting and which may have short duration there will be status considerations. Even between strangers status considerations may arise in their interaction. They will be based on visible indications such as clothing, conspicuous personal possessions like the watch, the pen, the ring and so on. It may also be based on the type of conveyance the man is using or the type of locality in which the man is living. In general people will pay deference to a person who bears these external indications of high status even though they are strangers. Particularly in India, clothes clothes indicate very clearly the status of an individual. If a man is poorly dressed automatically he will be looked upon as a man of inferior status. As is well-known, the great Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar was mistaken for a cooly

in the railway station by a well dressed man.   This is also
the reason why in society we find that aids to status per-
ception are provided by uniforms.   The peon in the office,
the policeman, the postman, the railway guard, each has
his own uniform so that interactions become quite smooth
and easy.

The members of a society are in a broad way classified
and we set up anticipations and expectations about each
other.   The people who are classified differently tend to
behave differently.   This is because each contributes to
the well-being of the group as a whole.   Though there are
different kinds of positions or status in the different
societies in the world, there are some positions which are
common to all societies.   For example, Linton (17) gives
the following list of statuses :

1. Age-sex : infant-boy ; girl : young-man, young-woman,
   old-man, old-woman.
2. Occupational.
3. Prestige—Chief or slave—hierarchy.
4. Family, Class or household.
5. Association groups—based on common interests.

In the feudal societies there is a hierarchy of prestige
based on birth like the chief, the nobleman, the slave and
so on.   Similarly in our society we have a hierarchy based
on the caste system, where the members of the varying
castes have varying ranks in the society, particularly in the
village groups today.

Even in very simple societies like the tribal groups
there are such statuses.   We find that here Linton is using
the term status in a very broad sense, applying it not only
to the prestige system but also to the other systems like occu-
pation, age, sex, etc.   Some psychologists like Newcomb,
for instance, use the term ' position ' in the same sense in
which Linton uses the term status.   Status may be *ascribed*
like, for instance, the status a person gets on account of age,
sex or birth.   On the other hand status may also be
achieved.   In olden days various positions in the society
were inherited.   A man became a king or a minister or a
purohit or pujari or shanbogh or patel merely on the basis
of birth.   These occupations were hereditary.   In the

modern society there has been a shift from heredity to achievement. Today there are very few monarchies in the world. For example, in India, we do not have, after independence, a single ruling prince. Legislation is being passed in several states even to make. the offices of shanbhog and patel, offices by appointment and not offices by heredity. There is also a third way in which a man may attain status, by preference. A person may become a member of a club or some kind of association by choice in some organizations ; but in some others, for example, in the Rotary Club we find that membership is not a mere matter of preference ; it is a combination of achievement and preference. It may be said that in modern societies positions are largely determined by achievement and preference. It is only with respect to age, sex, and family groups that we find that status is ascribed.

The present writer has constructed a scale to measure socio-economic status on the basis of the three variables : occupation, education and income (18). Thus the variables chosen are those which are the result of achievement. In India today, like in all modern societies, socio-economic status is based on achievement and not on mere birth.

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LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLISM

THE CHILD as well as the adult react to the non-symbolic as well as to the symbolic stimuli from the other individuals. The brandishing of a stick may be as effective or even more effective than the application of the stick. When the child reacts to the brandishing of a stick he is reacting to something symbolic. Similarly the threat of spanking by the lift of an eye brow or by words is symbolic. But it can be as effective as the actual beating. Pavlov has shown that the genesis of symbolic reactions are to be found in the conditioning process. Allport (1) showed long ago that the child picks up language through a process of conditioning. Before discussing some of the essential features of language in social interaction we may discuss for a while symbolism.

The art of dancing is based on symbolism. Long ago Indian scholars like Bharatha (2) laid down some rules regarding symbolic movements. When the dancer or the actor on the stage goes through motions of hoeing, it is symbolic. The farmer's work in the field is actual and non-symbolic. The two actions are similar. Only in the one case it is acting and in the other it is work. The dancer's or the actor's movements will become significant only if an audience is there to interpret or to react to his actions. It must be realised however that it is very difficult to draw a line between what is symbolic and what is non-symbolic in human interaction. Language plays such an important part in human society that it is very difficult to draw a line between what is symbolic and what is non-symbolic. In fact the very word for objects in Sanskrit is *padartha*, literally the object that is the meaning of the word. Symbolism has played a very important part in Indian culture like in other advanced cultures in the world. The name of a person is really a symbol and as we all know our names are of very great significance to us as individuals. The writer recalls the incident which happened in a train journey. Two foreign women were travelling

in the same compartment with an Indian girl of about 5 years of age. The child could speak only Tamil, and the two foreigners could speak only English. The child was weeping as the train started moving. She could not be consoled by anything which the foreign women ·were sympathetically attempting to do. They informed that they were taking this child to an orphanage because the child's mother was unable to look after her. An Indian lady in the compartment tried to comfort the child speaking to her in Tamil without any success. A little later she asked the child her name and the child gave out her name as Indira. The Indian lady taught the foreign women to speak to the child using her name. There was a significant change in the child's behaviour when she was called by her name. She was able to control her sorrow and fear and before long she was able to eat the fruit that was proffered and play with the toy given. The name of the child was so significant to her.

Much of our social life consists of the use and manipulation of lingual and other symbols. Most of the inter-personal adjustments are made through the symbolic and verbal stimuli. It is through the symbols that non-symbolic behaviour is controlled. It must be realised, however, that this is not merely a matter confined to human society. Domestication of animals involves training them to react to symbols. The bird, the cow, the dog, all these become domesticated to the extent to which they react to symbols, Through suitable conditioning and rewards and punishments the animals are made to react to gestures as well as to language. In human society the parents at home, the teacher in the school, the superintendent in the office, the foreman in the factory, the policeman at the traffic circle, all these control the behaviour of the other people by using gestures or language. But the main thing we have to bear in mind is that the symbolic behaviour is effective because it controls the non-symbolic actions. Otherwise symbolism will have no significance. Consequently symbolic behaviour is only the means and the end is adjustment of person to person or of person to the world. The human being, as well as the group, survive because of the non-symbolic behaviour and therefore as the society becomes more and more symbolic,

behaviour becomes more and more influential.

Gesture

Generally the term gesture is used to designate all overt symbolic behaviour that is not verbal. The dancer as well as the actor make use of gestures to convey meanings. Particularly in *Bharata Natya* gestures have been conventionalised. But this is an exception. Ordinarily gestures are not as fully conventionalised as words, that is why they cannot convey meaning as accurately ·as words. Ordinarily we make use of a number of gestures to supplement words. These gestures may enrich the meanings of words and they make the experience fuller. ˈOften times gestures may even change the meanings of words. For example the same remark may bring about a wholly different reaction when it is accompanied with a smile. A rebuke with a smile is taken in a light different from the same rebuke without a smile or with stern gestures.

It is a common experience that the domesticated dog is able to react very significantly to our gestures. The dog is able to react to our state of mind on the basis of our facial expressions. Similarly children respond more to our gestures than to our words. It is only during the second year and later that the children can understand some of the words which the mother uses. But even in the first few months the child responds to the gestures.

The same is true even with respect to the adults. Often the first impression that we get of a person is based on our reaction to his facial expression and gestures. A good deal of character reading is based on such rapid reactions to gestures. The individual is unaware that he is reacting to the gestures. Howell (3) found that in the facial expressions the mouth was much more expressive than the eyes. Similarly Kline and Johannson (4) found that the shoulders, arms and hands contribute more to the identification of the expressions of emotions as compared to the face only. The salesman in the shop must try and judge many complicated things like the intention, the frame of values, the financial status etc., of each of his customers on the basis of the facial expressions and the gestures they display. Similarly the customer also tries to estimate how much of the salesman's

words are real and how much they are a matter of superficial salesmanship, on the basis of gestures. In a selection interview we find that the interviewing committee is impressed as much by the factual information given by the candidate as by the gestures which leave impressions regarding his personality characteristics. It must be realised that the first impressions and the snap judgments that we make on the basis of gestures may not be sound. Often times we find that the man whose manners and expressions lead us to make a judgment that he is pleasant, honest and competent may actually prove later to be the very opposite of these. Similarly the persons who are first judged to be rude or untrustworthy or egotistical may actually turn out to be quite pleasant, honest and trustworthy. This is because the gestures are not standardized. Further our own moods may interfere considerably, affecting our judgments. Further unintentional gestures on the part of individuals may convey to us impressions which were never meant by the individuals. Few people have control over their gestures. Some of the most spectacular public speakers use their posture, movement of hands and facial expressions in a deliberate way to influence other people. Their gestures may be more significant than the words they actually use. Similarly the courtesan may make deliberate use of gestures to attract people.

In passing we may draw attention to the fact that a group of 2—3 children who speak different languages, without any common medium, may be able to play with joy purely on the basis of gestures and facial expressions and the actual movements.

There are also some group differences. We find, for example, in a general way that the Northern Indian is much more expressive than the South Indian. Two South Indians when they meet will greet each other with a solemn *namaskar*. They express their joys more through words and facial expressions than through actual bodily movements. In similar situations two northerners will express their emotion by embracing each other. There are also differences between the Mediterranean races of Europe and the Nordic races. The Italians, the Spanish and the French are looked upon as emotional people as they use their gestures to a great extent. On the other hand the Chinese are looked '

upon as " impassive " people since they are not very express-
ive. These facts should not mislead us ; we should not
think that the Chinese do not express their feelings through
gestures. It only means that the gestures used by the Chi-
nese are less vigorous and less apparent than the gestures
used by others. Further these gestures are socially acquired.
The Chinese child picks up the gestures just as he picks up
the language of his country. So do the Italians and the
Spanish. These differences should not be looked upon as
racial differences which are innate. They are learnt
differences.

How does the human infant learn to express himself
through gestures ? Secondly how does the human infant
learn to respond to the gestures of others ? A few decades ago
answers to these questions was " imitation. " It was thought
that the child smiles because others around him smile. But
the view to-day is that the child learns to smile because those
around him respond to smiles. The mother smiles when
she feeds the child, when she fondles him. She uses both
gestures as well as sounds. These sounds may or may not
have meanings. Thus the child gets a double impression
of the gestures and sounds. Because of the fondling which
accompanies the smile the child learns to respond to these
smiles. It is probable that if the mother never smiled nor
frowned there may be some delay in the child's training to
respond to gestures. There are some adults who are defi-
cient in this training. If the mother is inexpressive through
gestures the child may not respond to the gestures. As
Lapiere and Farnsworth write : " The result would be a
sort of social myopia, a tendency to miss much that transpires
through gestures in person to person relationships, and per-
haps a related inclination to be unusually literal regarding
what people say because of unawareness of what they look "
(5.95). Often the behaviour which is described as rude or
awkward may be traced to insensitivity to gestures of the
other people. The infant and later the child expresses him-
self through gestures like smiling, cooing, crying, move-
ments of arms and legs and so on. Fundamentally there are
expressions of discomfort and there are expressions of pleas-
ure and satisfaction. The " crying expression " arises when
there is pain or discomfort ; he " screws " up his face.
There is also the " squirming " of the body. As Lapiere and

Farnsworth put it : " These bodily movements are not symbolic behaviour but only a generalized response to a wide range of different internal states. The crying expression and the squirming mean only that the infant's physiological equilibrium is disturbed ; they do not indicate the specific nature of that disturbance " (5.96) The mother responds to these stimuli.:   She reads meaning into the non-symbolic behaviour of the child by going and attending to the infant's needs of hunger or discomfort or pain.   This leads to reinforcement and eventually the child "uses" the gestures to communicate in the sense that he goes on crying till the mother attends to him.   In a similar way the infant and child also learn to use gestures to express pleasure or satisfaction.   When the physiological equilibrium is not upset the infant is quiet, when it is upset he cries.   This leads to movement by the mother leading to the restoration of the equilibrium.   Sounds of satisfaction and facial expressions of satisfaction like smile get reinforced because the mother recognizes and encourages these expressions.   Thus the non-symbolic random movements of the infant and child become, in due course, gestures communicating to the mother discomfort or pleasure.

It is well known that deaf mutes have a highly conventionalized gesture language.   They are able to communicate with each other as well as with others with ease.   There are many palmists among the deaf-mutes who communicate complicated messages to normals through gestures.

Language

We have seen that the random movements of the infants become gestures of pain or discomfort and pleasure.   In the same way random sounds of the child become speech.   The first sound which the child makes is the cry.   It is an uncontrolled sound and a generalised response to a wide variety of stimuli.   When either hunger or discomfort is relieved the child returns to silence and to sleep.   Within a few weeks the infant will have a longer waking period than in the first week.   He begins to make a number of sounds. On the other hand the mother also will be " speaking " to the infant when she feeds him and looks after him.   So the infant responds to the sounds from the mother which ac-

company the feeding as well as the removal of discomfort. The child responds to the sound from the mother in the same manner in which the mother responds to the sound from the child. Thus long before speech starts the sounds made by the each other become the means of communication between the mother and the child. The child makes a variety of sounds. The great linguist and anthropologist Franz Boaz (6) enunciated the following principles of phonetic analysis :

1. That the total number of sounds in the different languages is unlimited ; but

2. In any single language there is a definite and limited group of sounds.

Thus every human language selects a restricted number of many possible utterances and looks upon them as meaningful. These are described as ' phonemes.' They constitute the basic elements of sound on which the particular language is based. Two consequences follow from this : During childhood only those utterances which are used in the particular language become reinforced and continue to be used by the child. All the other sounds which the child is able to make are given up because they are not reinforced by usage. Consequently as we grow up we find it very difficult to pick up other languages. It looks as if the sounds in the other languages are so peculiar, that it is impossible for us to learn them. On the other hand the child can pick up two or more languages with facility if they are all being used in the group in which the child is brought up. The Maharashtrian or Bengali or Punjabi child who is brought up in Mysore can easily speak in Kannada. The pronounciation of that child cannot be distinguished from the pronounciation of the other Kannada children. On the other hand the Maharashtrian or Bengali or Punjabi adult who settles down in Mysore will find it very hard to pick up Kannada. Even if he succeeds it will be always possible to find out from his pronounciation that there are some defects in his Kannada. This is because during childhood the ability to make the various sounds is present but with growth the ability to make the sounds which are not incorporated in the particular language which is our mother-tongue, will be lost. We may give another illustration to reinforce this point.

It is well known that when people from the different states of India speak the English language we can immediately find to which linguistic group the man belongs. Our learning of the English language will be influenced by the phonemes which are in our own language. This is the reason why we can immediately spot out on the basis of the pronounciation in English whether the man is a Tamilian, Maharashtrian or Bengali.

Speech consists of highly conventionalized verbal sound patterns. These sounds have definite meaning to the speaker as well as to the others. Language may be defined as a system of communication through conventional symbols. There have been different theories about the origin of language. One theory asserted that the sounds of words are similar to the sounds in nature. There is no doubt that we have a number of words like " buzz ", " coo ", " gurgle ", " cuckoo ", " crow " etc., which are very similar to the sounds actually made by the animals or by the acts which they represent. Another theory asserted that language reflects the association between some particular object and a corresponding vocal response ; they became permanently associated. The basic factor which any theory of the origin of language is to take into account is the social factor. Speech is social. It depends upon the group into which the child is born. It is a result of social interaction. Speech is something which is learnt. There is an interesting anecdote about Akbar. It appears during the time of Akbar there was a big controversy as to whether the God's language was Arabic or Persian. As a practical man and as an absolute monarch, Akbar is supposed to have directed that a few infants may be brought up in isolation in order to find out in what language these children will speak to each other as they grow up. The children were looked after by adults who never communicated with them through language. The obvious result was that these children grew up without speaking any language at all. The only language which they probably developed was the gesture language. The significance of this is that language is learnt by social interaction. Often times we become highly sentimental about our " mother-tongue. " We should not forget that we have to *learn* the mother tongue. If by chance the infant is abandoned and brought up in

a family speaking another language, that language will become the 'mother tongue' of the child rather than the language of the actual mother who never brought him up.

There are two aspects in the acquisition of language by the child. First the child learns to respond to the verbal stimuli from the mother and other adults. It is only in the second year and later that he acquires the ability to use words. The mother " speaks " to the child right from the first day of the child's life. This behaviour on the part of the mother is something very important ; both in the socialization of the child, as we shall learn later on, as well as in the acquisition of language by the child. The child comes to associate certain sound patterns with the non-symbolic behaviour of the mother. The mother's voice gains a symbolic value as well as a pleasure value because the mother speaks and sings to the child when she feeds him. What the mother says gains a symbolic significance because of what the mother does. In the same way the words of restraint and prohibition obtain their significance because of what the mother actually does. Consequently the infant and the child at the beginning respond to the sound patterns rather than to the words and their meanings. This is something common between children's behaviour and animal behaviour. As is well known the domesticated bird or animal can respond to what the owner speaks but it is not the meaningful word as such, as the significance of the sound. It is the inflection and other aspects of the gesture that serve as stimuli. Consequently in the early stages of development of verbal response, it is the tonal quality rather than the verbal pattern that is of significance to the child. Gradually the child becomes more and more responsive to the verbal patterns themselves. Investigations show that by 10—12 months the child can use one or two words with meaning. By two years he can use 300 words, by 3 years it goes up to 800 and by 5 years it is around 2,000 words. This is the rapid way in which the child acquires mastery over language. He learns to respond to words and to express himself through words. Consequently the scope of interaction with the other adults and children expands with the expansion of its vocabulary. When the child acquires the ability to read and write the scope of interaction increases further

and the modern methods of printing newspapers and books increases it even more. Long before adulthood, the child will increase vastly the scope of its interaction with other persons and groups, ages and lands.

It may be asserted with confidence that words constitute the greatest single tool which man has devised for social interaction as well as for the development of the individual and the society. It is through words that individuals as well as groups are controlled. The mother lulls her infant to sleep and by the use of words again the political leaders rouse the nations from apathy. It is a matter of historical significance that the Indian people were roused to a sense of their rights and responsibilities by Gandhiji using the regional languages as the media. The Indian National Congress was a mere movement of the classes before the Gandhian era as it was using English as the medium. It was the genius of Gandhi that led to the use of the regional languages of India and thus setting up mass movement throughout the country for national liberation as well as for national growth.

As we have seen above animals can learn to respond to the spoken word but why is it that the apes, for example, have not been able to develop any language. Anatomically there is a very great resemblance between ape and man. As we have seen earlier apes and monkeys live in groups. But still they have not been able to develop the language. Kellog and his wife (7) brought up an infant ape along with their child. They found that the ape learnt a good number of ways of human beings. It was much stronger and more agile than the human child. But there was a big difference between the child and the ape. Both of them learnt to respond to words, but the child far out stripped the ape both in responding to words, as well as in the use of words to express himself. Yerkes (8) has shown that the ape-mother can teach her offspring to make adjustments to the external world much in the same way as the human mother does. She makes use of rewards and punishments. The great defect in the ape is its inability to pick up symbols. Consequently the ape is restricted to learn from experience in the present. In contrast the human child can extend learning beyond the present to the past and the future. Through the medium of verbal symbols the mother

is able to set up model persons whose ideals and aspirations and achievements affect the child's behaviour. The mother may speak of the grandparents who are no more. The child eagerly listens to the ideals and achievements of these grandparents who are not present in the house or who are not alive. Similarly, the mother makes use of mythology, history and biography to set up innumerable people as model persons. The heroes of Ramayana and Mahabharatha have continued to influence down the ages the behaviour of the Indians. This is the power of words. The words can set up symbolic models which affect the child's behaviour. Thus the child is influenced not merely by experience but also by interactions regarding those who are not present, those who are not alive and those who probably were never alive. These symbolic models help in the growth of the individual. The child endeavours to " be like " the person whose memory is cherished by the surrounding adults. The child tries to secure admiration for himself by endeavouring to be like the cherished persons. Shivaji's life was due to the models set up by his mother and by his Guru and in turn Shivaji is himself a model for millions in India all these centuries.

Social interaction is influenced not only by the dictionary meaning or the denotative meaning of words but also by other influences. The inflection, the accent, the implications have all very important significance, probably much greater significance than the actual meaning of words themselves. These variations are sometimes referred to as the " Vocal gestures ". The poet, the musical composer, the politician make use of the words both in their dictionary meaning as well as in their further symbolic meanings. Long ago the great Indian Critics spoke about this " *dhwani* " aspect (9) of words. Even in common interaction the manner of using the word may be more significant than the word itself. For example flattering words may be made insulting or provocative words may be made pleasing (10 : Part I).

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PART THREE
SOCIALIZATION

SOCIETY MAKES US HUMAN

1. Some common features of all societies

IT IS A familiar fact that human societies differ from one another in innumerable and striking ways, but underlying this diversity we can discover certain characteristics which are to be found in all human societies. In each society, there is an intricate organization where members are composed into sub-units of families, clans, age and sex groups. So no human society is a homogeneous unit in which all members stand in the same relation to one another. Secondly, we find that all societies engage in work. With the aid of tools and skills human beings provide food, shelter and clothing for themselves and for others. In some human groups, domestic animals may largely be employed in the economic field, as for example, in India. Another common feature of the human societies is that the members are interested in art activities. They sing, dance, ornament themselves and produce objects of art. Yet another common feature is that the human beings act in terms of right and wrong. Every society has its own code of ethics and scale of values. Further in each society attempts are made to formulate theories and beliefs about the origin and the constitution of the world. Also each society tries to develop some notions concerning its own history. Finally, through example and precept, the members in each human society introduce the young to the practices, skills and beliefs of the society. So there is some system of education in each society. It may be informal but it exists. It must however be emphasized that none of these activities would be possible without language. As we have seen, language is the most important tool which man has devised and which differentiates him from the other animal groups. All these social facts show that in every permanently associated group of human beings there is a complete system of social life. There may be differences

from society to society but there are certain invariant properties in all the societies.

2. *The transformation of the non-social neonate into the social adult*

All these social acts as well as the products of social activities become possible through the psychological events occurring in each member of the society. It is the individual human being who speaks, makes tools, observes rules of the kinship and property and distinguishes between the sacred and the profane. Our problem, as students of social psychology, is to study the psychological foundations of these social facts. What are the psychological sources of the social happenings? In answering these questions it may be borne in mind that individuals start with a biological structure that can respond to social conditions. But we cannot understand this problem if we ignore either the social aspects or the biological aspects that are involved here.

The fundamental fact is the transformation of a non-social neonate into a social adult. The infant is born as a non-social biological being. He grows up to be a socialized adult. It is due to social experience that a biological being becomes a human being. As Asch puts it, " The paramount fact is that men come into relation not with the objects of nature but also with other men, and that in this encounter they are transformed into human beings. The environment of others and the products of their labour become a powerful, comprehensive region of forces within which each individual moves and has his being. Here each person discovers the existence and the character of human beings and becomes bound to them ; here he discovers the reality of his own self; and of work, art, and thought " (1.119).

Thus the infant is transformed into a human being under conditions of group life. Solitary man could not produce the effects that we actually observe in society. Could we then say that the reality of the group life is responsible for the transformation of the infant into a social adult ? Earlier (ch. IV) we have seen that group life is not a phenomenon peculiar to human beings. Social life is there among the animals but we do not find these characteristics of the social

life that we have enumerated above in any animal group, not even among apes. As we have seen above, it is language that enables symbolic extension of interaction and that leads to those characteristics which distinguish all human beings. Further, language enables the human beings to live in a field that extends into a distant past and into a far future. For example, even the ordinary human activities such as tilling the soil or building a hut presuppose an orientation to events past as well as future. Consequently, the human being does not react to the isolated here-and-now. He reacts to a total situation which includes reference to considerable region of time and space. Due to technological progress man has not only conquered space by the introduction of aeroplanes and jet planes, he is now trying to conquer the outer space by inventing rockets.

3. *The difference between the ape society and human society*

The expansion of the psychological field in the human being affects the content and structure of needs and emotions. Human beings are not completely dominated by the needs of the moment. Because they can anticipate the consequences of their actions in future and because of consequences of certain actions in the past and because of the needs and emotions of the other human beings, the immediate needs exist in the field of other needs, past and future — one's own and those of others. The success and failures of the past influence the aspiration for the future and leads him either to plan for a purpose or to have a deep sense of frustration and futility. This is why we find a big contrast between the human beings and the most highly developed anthropoid apes. In the apes, actions and feelings are dictated almost exclusively by the immediate present. It is the organic rhythm which leads to the extended pattern of action. Mating is followed by the attachment of the male as protector. The maternal care appears after the birth of the young, but gradually the family dissolves. Thus we find that the extended patterns of action among the apes are largely controlled at each point by the impulses which are aroused at the given time. The chimpanzee may respond in an 'almost human' way when he

sees the suffering of a sick companion. But this sympathy is actuated by the stimulation at the moment. Kohler remarks, " More than once I established that the temporary (or permanent) disappearance of a sick (or dying) animal has little effect on the rest, so long as he is taken out of sight and does not show his distress in loud groans of pain ....unquestionably, their interest today in some fruit which they saw buried yesterday, is greater than that taken in one member of the group who was there yesterday and who today does not come out of his room any more " (2.241).

Thus for the chimpanzee it is almost literally true that out of sight is out of mind. On the other hand, in the human being death of a person does not obliterate our need for him. We miss him. We may be even become overpowered by grief. Similarly, we may be influenced by the hopes which our parents had for our future, for good or ill. Thus the awareness of the past and the future, his awareness of himself and his obligations to others, lead the human being to a situation where he can no longer respond to each impulse as it appears. He has to subordinate his need of the moment to his other needs and to the needs of other persons. Consequently, he has to reflect upon his motives. He learns to be critical of them in terms of his own well-being in the social context. To quote Asch again, " Experiences lose their fragmentary character and form more permanent structures around relatively permanent objects. In the place of transient impulses and emotions arise enduring sentiments toward objects of concern. For the short-lived and organically impelled actions are now substituted the more permanent relations of father and child, of husband and wife. Men thus overcome the separateness and randomness of their experiences and unite them into stable systems with reference to which they act and upon which they can reflect. With these steps, planning and deliberate choice become possible " (1.123).

4. Socialization is a patterned and continuous process

Socialization is not a simple nor single process which operates in a unitary way. It involves the multiplicity of processes because it involves a multiplicity of social norms. It also involves the various social roles which the individual

has to take on in order to fulfil the expectations of society. Consequently, it would be an exaggeration to think that any particular influence at home, in the neighbourhood, or in the school will influence the individuals exclusively. It is the failure to recognize this that leads many people to over-estimate the importance of formal education in the schools. This is a real danger, particularly in India, with nearly 50% of the children who have not yet come into the schools. It is no doubt true that at least a continuous education of 7—8 years in a primary school will be of immense value in the socializing of the individual. But to imagine that the influences in the school will be quite enough to socialize the individual is to over-estimate the influence of the school. It must be realised that the human being is a product of many forces. The influence particularly of the parents at home and of the other adults and children in the neigh-bourhood are of immense value in the socialization of the child. So, unless programmes of social education are taken on hand simultaneously to influence the adults in the villages and in the towns and cities, mere schooling will not bring out great changes in the child. The influences in the school should not be in conflict with the influences of the parent at home and of the others in the neighbour-hood. Similarly, lack of recognition of this truth has led moralists to exaggerate the evil effects of cinema and radio. After all, how the child reacts to the experiences on the screen depends not only on what he sees on the screen but also on the influence at home and in the school (see Ch. XII).

It must further be remembered that the individual is not an empty receptacle for culture. How the child reacts to the socializing process depends on the influence of the past circumstances as well as the present circumstances. This great truth was recognized by the ancient Indian thinkers who developed the concept of the *Samskaras.* According to the traditional view, *Samskaras* have two as-pects. The past experiences in this life as well as experi-ences in the past series of lives. It is beside the point to discuss the validity of the assumption of past lives. It must, however, be emphasized that the ancient Indian thinkers were conscious of the important role of the past experiences in this life as they affected the socializing pro-

cess. Consequently, socialization is not a mere passive process. There is action and reaction between the individual and the socializing process. There is also an action and reaction between the aspects of past socialization and the present circumstances. It is as a result of the interaction of these three elements namely, the individual, the past experiences and the present experiences, that the socializing process attains its significance. Thus it must be remembered that socialization is a patterned, as well as a continuous process. It is a process that goes on from birth to death. There is no moment at which the individual can say that he has attained perfection. There is always room for progress in the individual to attain the state of perfection as it is postulated by any society.

5. Socialization does not lead to uniformity and loss of uniqueness

Consequent upon this we can realise that socialization process does not bring about a dead uniformity in the behaviour of the members of any group. The uniqueness of the individual is due to the operation of the three forces that we have noted above. Even within the home, the children born to the same parents react differently to the same or similar situations. This is due also to the constitutional factors peculiar to each individual with which the individual confronts the present experiences. Studies in the cases of juvenile delinquency illustrate the significance of this fact. No two individuals in the same home or in the same neighbourhood react in the same way to the influences at a given time. This is why between two brothers, one may be a juvenile delinquent and the other a respected member of the group (See Ch. XX).

6. Conflicts involved in socialization

From what we have said above, it is obvious that socialization is not a passive process on the part of the individual. The infant as well as the child and the adolescent react in diverse ways to the socializing process. Further, the socializing process meets with resistance of the individual. The attempts to regularise the feeding times of the child,

and his eliminating processes, will involve conflict between the child and the mother. Bringing up the child is not a smooth experience. Often times the mother becomes angry with the resisting infant or child. It is only with a good deal of tact and patience that the mother as well as the father can bring about the necessary changes in the child's behaviour so that he becomes an acceptable member of the group. Similarly, conflict between the student and teacher goes on in the nursery school as well as in the primary school and elsewhere. Even the adult may find it very difficult to conform to the standardized schedule of eating, sleeping and other vital activities. Social etiquette demands that we should not start eating at a party when the food is being served, even though we are hungry. It is only at the appropriate signal that all the people can start eating. The same holds good with respect, not only to other vital activities like sleeping, elimination and so on, but also with respect to how we speak and how we control our emotions. Fear and anger may be experienced by an individual, but he cannot give expression to them except in the ways which conform to the expectations and the social norms of the group. " The individual often resists conformity during his socialization until correctives applied are stronger than his resistances, or until the social values or norms become his own personally cherished values " (3.7).

But it would be wrong to consider that the social influences are always coercive. We have to avoid two kinds of errors which are generally held concerning the process of socialization. It is wrong to consider, as we have seen above, that the individual is a passive recipient of culture. It is also wrong to conclude that socialization is a struggle between the coercive society and a resisting individual. The truth is that the individual as well as the society mutually respond in this process of socialization. On its part the society tries to mould the individual. It is also true that the individual strives to " belong " to the group. The individual knows that if he belongs to the group, if he is an accepted member of the group, it gives him security and satisfaction. Consequently, the individual strives to make the social norms of his group his own. This is particularly the case when the individual develops into

an adult member of the group.

In a position of responsibility, the adult finds that he has to enforce the very standards against which he resisted as a child and as an adolescent. The young man who becomes the teacher has to alter his behaviour in a number of ways. This might even lead him to accept what he resisted when he was a student. Similarly, when the individual becomes a parent and undertakes the responsibility of socializing his children, his attitude towards the prevalent social norms undergoes considerable change. Of course, it should not be imagined that the society at any time is a bare replica of what it was in the previous generations. Every group, however conservative it might appear to be or claim to be, will show continuous signs of changing. This is a sign of growth and vitality of the social group.

7. *Domestic animals*

Socialization need not be narrowed into something pertaining only to the human beings. It can be used as a broader concept involving changes brought about in organisms as a result of more or less deliberate training. Man has used some animals to serve as a companion or as a means for his own more efficient living. We need not concentrate our attention upon the special tricks taught by the circus man to the animals in order to amuse or astonish people. For the moment, we can confine our attention only to the animals which are domesticated by man. The behaviour of these animals is quite different from the behaviour of the animals of the same species which are not brought up deliberately by human beings. As an illustration, we can take up the differences between the dog brought up in the house and the " street dog ". In India we have a large number of dogs in the market place as well as in the living areas. These dogs are not owned by anybody. They are just creatures of impulse, snatching food wherever possible and fighting with the other dogs. In contrast we find the domesticated dog responding to its name, eating at fixed times at the appropriate place, showing affection to the members of the family and receiving affection from them. This contrast in behaviour between the two shows

the influence of socialization. This also shows that sociali-
zation is not a mere matter of training. It involves an
affectionate relationship between the man and the dog.
The dog is trained through systematic rewards and punish-
ments to live in a particular manner. But the dog which
does not receive affection from the master will be more
like a circus animal with a few tricks rather than as a
member of the family. This is what we find in most of
the well-brought up dogs.

8. *The ape and the child*

We can also give the experimental results of the attempt
of Kellog, a psychologist, and his wife to bring up a chim-
panzee (4). When the boy Donald was ten months old,
they adopted Gua, a female chimpanzee $7\frac{1}{2}$ months old.
Their aim was to find out how the ape developed if it lived
with human beings and was given the training which
parents give their children. They treated the ape and the
child as two children giving them the same food, clothing,
bedding and so on. The two were bathed regularly, taken
out in baby carriages, given toilet training, spoken to,
fondled and kissed in the same way. At first Gua was up-
set by her new surroundings and being removed from her
mother who gave birth to her in captivity, but gradually
she adjusted herself. The two 'children' became fast
'friends'. Within a week she learnt to wear diapers and
shoes. She was fed from a spoon and a cup while sitting
in a higher chair ; she learnt to enjoy all the foods except
meat. She learnt to enjoy her daily bath and by the fourth
week she permitted the use of a tooth brush. Though Gua
was $2\frac{1}{2}$ months younger she took the role of an older sister
and protector. She was much bigger and stronger. At 10
months Gua had all her teeth while Donald had only two.
She was superior to Donald in jumping, walking and run-
ning. She learnt to walk upright. She could climb and
sit in her chair at $7\frac{1}{2}$ months while Donald could do this
only when he was $18\frac{1}{2}$ months. She could feed herself with
a spoon at 13 months while Donald could do this only
when he was $17\frac{1}{4}$ months. Gua could handle the spoon
much better than the older Donald. Thus it was found
that the ape appeared strikingly human, but in other ways
10

Donald was much superior. Donald learnt how to talk, but Gua never did. She used 4 different signs to express dislike, hunger, pain and discomfort. Kellog found that she could respond correctly to 58 different phrases to suggest " come out from under the bed ", " go to your mother", " play the horn " etc., by the time she was $16\frac{1}{2}$ months old when the experiment was discontinued. Donald would look at toys and human beings in action very closely but Gua became impatient and went out to other activities. Donald imitated the adult activities like brushing the hair, closing the drawer, sweeping the floor, shaking hands and so on. Even with respect to emotional development, there was a big difference. Donald was superior in inhibiting his emotions. Though Gua was deeply attached to her ' brother ' and ' parents ', her attachment was violent. When the ape missed a meal, she would gulp down her food frantically. She had no control over her bladder and bowels when she became angry or frightened. On the other hand, the ape was never bashful before strangers while the child was. This experiment shows the amazing speed with which the ape could learn the human ways when she was treated like a human being. But it also shows the limits of development and training. While she behaved in almost a human way, she could never be transformed into a human being.

9. *Growing up in different societies*

The human infants of different societies are biologically the same. No doubt there are individual differences from child to child as among the children of the same parents. But still within a few years the children of different social groups become typical members of that group, speaking that language and behaving in the ways typical to the group generally. By the time the child is 8-10 years of age he will become a typical member of the group into which he is born. The reports of anthropologists who have studied different human societies show how training affects the basic personality structures. Margaret Mead (5) has described a small agricultural community, the Arapesh, in New Guinea. They are mild, gentle and optimistic people. Though there are quarrels in the group, they are

never violent; there is no serious aggressiveness. They have no organized system of government. They have neither chief nor judges to punish transgressors. Still they live in harmony. Each person feels that he belongs to the whole group. The Arapesh are not possessive with respect to property. Whether it is hunting or house-building, several people cooperate. The animal hunted, as well as the crops grown, are shared with the other members of the group. Gifts are given without any accounting. Children are loved with great affection not only by the parents but by the other adults and other children in the village. They are not encouraged to grow up quickly. It is only at maturity that the young people stand on their own legs. There is only informal instruction. The ideal Arapesh is a quiet, unaggressive person. When a person is aggressive, they look upon him as if he is acting. Thus, the Arapesh are quite different from the other human groups, particularly from their neighbours, Mundugomors, who were fierce head-hunters. Thus each group adopts certain social norms which influence the behaviour of the individuals in the group.

10. *Some instances of non-socialized persons*

(a) THE WILD BOY OF AVEYRON

The significance of the home and neighbourhood may be understood by the description of two cases where the human beings were abandoned to themselves without any human care. The first report concerns the wild boy of Aveyron. Ten years after the French Revolution (1799) three hunters reported that they saw a naked boy of about eleven to twelve years of age. This boy was put in a hospital and several French scientists made a careful study. The French people were curious to see an illustration of Rousseau's "noble savage". This French thinker had asserted that when a man was brought up in natural surroundings, he would be an ideal person. On the other hand, they saw, in the wild boy of Aveyron, a disgustingly dirty child with convulsions moving back and forth like an animal in the cage. The boy bit and scratched those who opposed him. He did not show any sort of affection for those who attended to his welfare, He sniffed at everything given to him like an animal, seized

the food, dragged it into a corner and devoured it. He never showed any signs of fear when a pistol was fired close to him. He did not sneeze when snuff was put into his nose. He was indifferent to cold and rain and did not use any blankets while sleeping. He was a dumb creature, with only guttural sounds. He could sit for long periods in the garden without attending to anything in particular. He could not sit on a chair nor open a door. It was presumed, that by some accident he was lost in the woods when he was probably four to five years of age. There were many scars on his body indicating animal bites. The great French psychologist Pinel declared that the boy was a 'congenital idiot' because he found that, though the boy was about eleven years old, his behaviour showed that he was no more intelligent than an average child of one year. On the other hand, Itard thought that a feeble minded boy could not have survived the hardships of wild life. So he felt that the boy's present condition was due to the deprival of human society. Itard felt that with kindness, patience and persistence, the boy could be trained into a 'human' being. So he undertook to civilize the savage. A nurse was appointed to look after the boy. Itard and the nurse showered affection on the boy and started by educating the boy's sensations by covering him with warm clothing and by keeping him in a well-heated house and bathing him in hot water for two to three hours every day. The boy became conscious of warmth and started to dislike cold. By slow process the boy was taught to put on clothes by exposing him to the cold in the morning which he now disliked. Similarly with great patience the boy was taught to discriminate between smoothness and roughness, softness and hardness. All these factual experiences which appear to us to be " natural " are really the result of training. Only, this training is given to children without looking upon this as 'training'. Itard's work with the wild boy of Aveyron clearly shows that since the boy's past experiences were deprived of these advantages, it took a long time to make him appreciate the value of sensations which form a normal part of human existence.

It was further found that the boy's feelings were limited to the two emotions of joy and anger. Through a long effort Itard tried to stimulate the boy's emotions and feel-

ings. Gradually the boy became attached to Itard as well as to the nurse. He would weep if the nurse was angry and he would feel joy if she returned after some separation. He would greet the doctor with joy and caress his hands. He would weep when the doctor was stern and he would become angry if he was not forgiven.

Attempts to teach him to speak were not successful. He was not able to use any sound symbols. He would present the bowl when he wanted milk ; but, he could not learn to utter the word milk. He learnt to express his few wants through gestures. If he wanted to go for a walk he would bring the coat and hat to the nurse. He would respond to words as associated with specific objects rather than as representing a class of objects. After five years Itard gave up the patient training because he felt that he could not improve the boy any further. " From a wild savage Victor learnt how to live in human society and even to express some of his simplest wants in written language ; but he never equalled the ability of other boys of his age. The lack of human society in early childhood had retarded the boy so much that it took a gigantic effort to produce so little. Victor received kind treatment until he died in 1828 when he was about 40 " (7.63).

(b) THE WOLF CHILDREN OF BENGAL

In 1920 Rev. J. Singh (8) who was conducting an orphanage at Midnapore learnt about a ' man-ghost ' in a jungle not far from Calcutta. He went to the forest with a party of people and after long waiting found a wolf emerging from a hole followed by two other grown wolves, two cubs and two children. These two children were later on captured and given to the care of a villager. When Singh returned a week later, he found the entire village deserted out of terror for the man-ghost, and the helpless children were on the verge of death from hunger and thirst. The elder, who was named Kamala, was a girl of about eight years and the younger girl, named Amala, was about one and a half years old. These two children had lost their humanity like Victor. But the difference was that these two children behaved like wolves. They could not walk upright. They were like nocturnal animals unable to open their eyes fully in midday. They

sat almost motionless during the day and moved about in the night time. They shouted like wolves. They had great eagerness to eat raw-meat and they used to lap up milk like wolves. They slept overlapping each other. They would neither perspire in the heat of the day, nor shiver in the cold nights. It is possible that the wolf brought up the first child when she was nursing her own cubs. It is strange that the same wolf should have nursed another human infant years later. Mrs. Singh took the responsibility of bringing up these two children, and gave them a good deal of love and attention. Apart from feeding them and looking after them, she massaged them daily to loosen their muscles. Gradually, the two children came to like their nurse. But they would avoid the other children or even bite and scratch them. Eleven months after their capture, the little Amala died of dysentery; probably she might have grown up to be a normal girl, because in a short time she learnt to ask for water using the Bengali word for it.

Kamala was deeply moved by the death of Amala. She would not move from the spot where Amala died. For two days she refused food and water. Later on, she responded better to the kindness of Mrs. Singh. Gradually she became an accepted member of the group. She received affection and gave affection. She learnt to do simple tasks like minding babies and pulling the punka. She gave up the desire to roam about in darkness. She even began to fear darkness. She could learn to walk on her feet only five and a half years after she came to the orphanage. But even then she could not walk gracefully and whenever she had to run she would use her hands as well as feet. Her speech development was also very slow. She was able to learn only 45 words. At the age of 15 she could only speak as well as a two year old child. She died in 1929 when she was about 17 years old.

11. *Importance of early socialization*

We can now gather together some of the outstanding features of these two stories of the wild boy of Aveyron and the wolf children of Bengal. They appear to be difficult to believe but they are authentic. Further, they are not so

uncommon. From almost every part of the world there are reports of wild children. Just a few years back, a wolf boy was discovered in Allahabad.

One outstanding feature of Victor as well as Kamala is that they could not speak. They could only use some gestures and they could cry out like the animals. The second feature is that they loathed human society. It was only after a long period of care and kindness that they could develop some attachment to the human beings. Such wild children have their sense organs, muscles, and nervous system. But without the guidance and affection of human society these wild children hardly progressed. We do not realise how much the mother does to educate the children's senses. Even in the most primitive societies we find that the mothers contribute a good deal to make the children human. The mother stimulates the child with warm clothing, baths and caresses and kisses. Montessori realised the significance of sense training when she had to educate children who were mental defectives. In every nursery school now special apparatus and techniques are used to give sense training.

In a similar way, it is with a good deal of patience that the mother makes the child accept other forms of food than milk. Even with respect to intake of milk and other fluids, it is only after a good deal of training that the child learns to shift from sucking to drinking. It is not impossible to see some children even when they are 3 years old refusing to drink the milk out of a tumbler. It is the mother's fault that the child has to be given the feeding bottle even at this age. In the same way, it is after a good deal of patient training that the mother teaches the child to learn to enjoy different kinds of food.

Another characteristic feature of the wild children is their insensitivity to heat and cold. They would not perspire on the hottest day nor shiver in the coldest night. They disliked wearing clothes. It is only after a good deal of training that they liked to cover themselves and feel the sensations of heat and cold. They also could not walk upright. It took a lot of training to walk upright. Even when they learnt to walk they would revert to using the hands as well as the feet when they had to run.

Their emotional experiences were limited to the three

primary emotions of anger, fear and joy. They could neither experience nor express the secondary emotions which play such an important part in social life. Neither Victor nor Kamala could experience these emotions to any considerable degree even after years of patient training. Thus what they would have learnt in a normal manner unobtrusively during childhood, they were unable to learn even after long training. This shows how significant the first two to three years of a child's life are in its growth of emotional life.

Even more disastrous to the child is the way in which isolation from human society affected its mental growth. Even with the most ingenious and patient training they could not develop beyond the mental level of a young child. Arnold Gesell (9) estimates that Victor's intelligence at the end of training was equal to that of a six year old child and that Kamala's intelligence was that of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ year old child. Thus the lack of proper human care and affection during the early years permanently impairs the growth.

The wild children in spite of careful training could not live and play like the normal children. They could not develop real friendship with other human beings. Nor could they understand the full import of social relations. Like animals or new born babies these wild children did what they pleased without any thought of morality or justice — *Dharma*. Thus we find that in isolation the human being lives and behaves like an animal. In fact, the behaviour is like that of a wild animal not even that of a domestic animal as we have already seen. The domestic animal reveals the influence of socialization. Even the most backward primitive societies have a profound influence on children. The life of such wild children like Kamala, clearly shows that without social influence the child cannot achieve humanity if it is brought up in isolation. The fate of the wild children shows how much society contributes to our growth.

Some aspects of socialization process in India

1. DHARMA

The socialization process in India is concentrated around the basic concept of *Dharma*. There is a famous verse in Mahabharatha which has set in a broad way the social norm

in India. "Neither the state nor the king, neither the mace (by which the authority punishes the law-breaker) nor the mace-bearer, govern the people ; it is only by *Dharma* that people secure mutual protection " (10).

Thus in this verse the view is expressed that it is neither authority nor punishment that governs social behaviour but *Dharma*. What is *Dharma ?* This concept is a living force in India for more than 3000 years. Several great thinkers have attempted to define this concept and have confessed their failure to define it. We may adopt the following view regarding *Dharma* as enunciated by Prabhu : " One, who by his action, attitude, and speech, shows that he has always everybody else's wellbeing at heart and is also constantly engaged in the welfare of all others, can be said to have understood *Dharma* " (11.27). In a broad way we may say that this principle is basic as a social norm influencing socialization of the individual in India.

The Hindu thinkers consider the following four factors as those which influence man's life and conduct : (i) *Desha* (place), (ii) *Kala* (time), (iii) *Shrama* (effort) and (iv) *Guna* (natural traits).

In Mahabharatha, Bhishma teaches that *Dharma* depends upon time and place (*Desha-Kala*). Since the vicissitudes of place and time cannot be determined by anybody, the Indian thinkers did not attempt to lay down the norms peculiar to these two conditions. " Indeed the recognition of *Desha* and *Kala* as significant factors affecting *Dharma* itself is a tacit acceptance by the *Sastrakaras* of the fact that despite their attempts at canalising and regulating man's conduct of life and behaviour through *Dharma*, this is not to be taken as a rigid, static principle but has to be allowed a certain flexibility, a modifiability, a dynamic potentiality for its operation to suit the conditions dictated by the locale and the times " (11.74).

2. ASHRAMA DHARMA

As regards *Shrama* (effort) this is looked upon as varying stages in the development of man (*Ashrama Dharma* — duties pertaining to the stages in life). There are four stages in life : *Brahmacharya* (the period of studentship), *Grihasta* (the stage of a house-holder), *Vanaprasta* (the stage of a forest dweller) and *Sanyasa* (the life

of renunciation). Thus we find that the first stage is the period of study and discipline. The individual during childhood and youth equips himself for the tasks of the householder. It must be confessed that though the Indian thinkers looked upon education at home and in the school as an essential stage in a child's life, over 80% of the children did not have proper educational facilities. It is only in 1950 that the Indian Constitution declared that free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 is the birth-right of all children. Even today in 1960 hardly 50 per cent of the school-going children are in the schools. This is one glaring instance of the difference between the principle and practice in Indian society. The principle was a social norm only within a small minority. The vast masses did not have education as a part of their social norm. This is the reason that in our cities even though provision is made for free education the parents do not send their children to the schools because this is not a social norm in that group.

As regards the stage of *Grihasta*, the individual, who has finished his education or his apprenticeship in some avocation, marries and sets up a home. He earns his livelihood by work and he looks after his family. Here we find that marriage is looked upon as an obligation in the life of every individual. In the third stage after a man has done his duty to the society as well as to the family he is to retire from life and its responsibilities and go away to the forest with his wife, so that he can study and meditate on life and its problems in a detached way. This stage is not observed as a general principle either in the ancient or in modern times. Next we have the final stage of a man's life, *Sanyasa*, where he has to renounce all worldly cares and detach himself from all social obligations as well as social attachments. He belongs to humanity and not to a particular family or group. From time immemorial we have had in India genuine as well as many spurious *Sanyasis*.

As Dube writes : " Though it is rare for people to renounce their home and property in old age, old men and women excessively attached to material goods come in for a good deal of criticism, and people often remark about them ' Will they carry their wealth with them to the other

world when they die ' ? It is at this time that their thoughts turn more to religion and to the destiny of their soul in the future life, and it is now that they generally undertake pilgrimages to holy places. In a sense the broad essentials of the philosophy of the *ashramas*, can be said to permeate the life and thought of the Hindu villagers. The village Muslims share these social attitudes with their Hindu neighbours. With conversion to Islam they have changed their religious faith, but in the socio-cultural spheres of life they still continue to have more or less the same basic attitudes as the Hindus " (23.132).

3. VARNA DHARMA

As regards the *Guna* which refers to the inherent psychological equipment of man, the Indian society follows *Varna Dharma*. The human group is divided into four sub-groups, the few who are devoted to learning are called the Brahmins, the few who are devoted to the military life as well as those in charge of the political institutions of the State are called the Kshatriyas, the few who are engaged in the economic activities of the production and distribution of wealth are looked upon as Vysyas, and the large majority of the human beings, who are unskilled in any of the three above fields, are called Sudras. The *Varna Dharma* thus recognizes that there are differences in abilities and in work. As Gita puts it, " The four *Varnas* were created by me according to the division of *Guna* (traits and aptitudes) and *karma* (works) " (12. iv. 13). Superposed upon the *Varna Dharma* is the concept of *Jati* — caste. In India there are innumerable castes depending upon the type of occupation pursued by the family. Due to these concepts individuals are brought up to pursue their occupation according to the status of the caste. In the recent years we find that there is a big transformation in the outlook of Indians. The Sudra castes as well as the Panchama castes (the untouchables) have revolted against the limitations imposed by the social norms within the family as well as within the society. Consequently, in the Indian Constitution, it has been laid down that no man can be discriminated against on the basis of his caste. In other words, irrespective of occupational group to which the parents belong, the children have a right to obtain training to pursue what-

ever profession they are capable of pursuing. The caste as a social norm so rigidly followed by all the various sub-groups in the country, is now abandoned and new norms emphasizing the freedom of the individual to obtain the education suited to his abilities and interests are now being recognized.

4. PURUSHARTHAS

From time immemorial the Indian people have cherished four human needs, *purusharthas*. These are wealth (*artha*), pleasure (*kama*), righteousness (*dharma*) and liberation (*moksha*). " These needs are not of the same kind. Only the last of them is the supreme end (*summum bonum*) and the others are minor ends. *Artha-Kama* : wealth and pleasure are not intrinsic goods. They are good only in so far as they lead to righteous living or a life of duty (*dharma*) (13.66). Katopanishad makes a contrast between the various human needs. ." Different is the good and different indeed is the pleasing. These two have different purposes behind them. It becomes well with him who accepts the good, but he who chooses the pleasing falls away from the purpose. Both the good and the pleasing come to man. One who is wise considers the two all-round and discriminates them. He chooses the good in preference to the pleasing, one who is stupid chooses the pleasing out of a desire for acquisition of property " (14. ii 1-2).

5. CARDINAL VIRTUES

The ancient Indian books also stress cardinal virtues (*sadharana dharmas*) which should be cultivated by every person irrespective of his *varna* and *ashrama*. In a broad way, five virtues are stressed. Purity (*soucha*), self-control, detachment, truth and non-violence. The Gita enumerates these social norms as follows :·

" Fearlessness, purity of mind, wise apportionment of knowledge and concentration, charity, self-control and sacrifice: Study of the scriptures, the practice of austerity and uprightness. The observance of non-violence, truth, freedom from anger, renunciation, tranquility, aversion to fault-finding, compassion to living beings. Freedom from covetousness, gentleness, modesty and

steadiness (absence of fickleness)" (12.334).

As it is well-known, Gandhi laid a very great stress on these cardinal virtues. He has given a description of these norms in a detailed way (15). He set up *ashramas* in South-Africa as well as in India and trained leaders from all parts of the country in the internationalization of these social norms and it may be stated without fear of contradiction that it is the daily practice in thought, word and deed (*Kaya-vacha-manasa*) of these social norms and personal values that was responsible for the success of the Indian National Movement. The practice of these principles is a characteristic pattern of the Indian way of life. It is because these social norms and personal values are being inculcated in every home in India, whether the parents are literate or illiterate, whether they follow Hinduism or Islam or Christianity that make the Indians unique. Foreign observers look upon these as the ' spiritual ' character of the Indian.

6. SOCIAL CONFORMITY AND UNIQUENESS

Since time immemorial Utopians have sought to build up a society in which every individual's behaviour consists entirely of the normative attributes. In other words, the aim is to develop methods of socialization so that every individual would behave in every situation in predictable and socially acceptable ways. On the other hand, there is the view that every individual is unique and that this behaviour would be the direct expression of his personality. Thus the problem of socialization has two aims : (a) to bring up the child in such a way that he behaves in socially acceptable ways according to social norms, (b) to bring up the child in such a way that he develops his own personality and his uniqueness. We want him to be spontaneous in his behaviour and not mechanical, rigid and stereotyped. Thus we find particularly in the more developed societies, institutions, customs and traditions have been built up to achieve this double task.

Even Karl Marx had this aim in his plan of the classless society. He knew that force will have to be used for some time in order to maintain the new social order. But he also envisaged that as the children grow up in this society for a generation or two they would adhere to the new

system of life, having internalised it, so that there is no necessity to use the threats of the police and the prison. It is now more than two generations since Russia became communist, but still the need for police and the prison is, if anything, as much as at the beginning of the Soviet Revolution. Even today members of the Soviet Party who were Ministers and Prime Ministers are sent out to hold minor positions in cities far away from Moscow or even being shot dead, if they displease the Party.

In actual life, we find that there is a good deal of conformity as well as deviation. Indian society is typical in this respect. We find that the man who worships the trees and snakes, the man who worships *Vishnu* or *Shiva* with form or the man who meditates on the *Nirguna Brahma* or a man who is a *Nastika* without any faith in God or the *Vedas*, all these people are looked upon as Hindus. Similarly, we find that the family which is completely westernized in its way of eating, using tables, chairs, spoons and forks, as well as the family which uses leaves, the floor and the fingers, are all looked upon as typical Hindus. We can think of different areas, of work, marriage and so on, where we find considerable diversity from family to family, or from individual to individual in the same family. This is the reason why foreign observers find it very difficult to generalize about Indians, particularly about Hindus. Beverley Nichols (16) expresses his despair that he has not met an " Indian ". He writes that he has only met Muslims and Hindus, Punjabis or Bengalis, Brahmins or Charmars, but not 'Indians'. Thus the process of socialization in India leaves considerable scope for diversity among social groups as well as among individuals. This is at once the value of the Indian way of life as well as its demerit. We must realise that just as uniformity and regimentation has its own merits and demerits, similarly diversity also has its own benefits and defects.

Social control

1. VARIOUS METHODS OF ENFORCING GROUP NORMS

In every group, there are social controls which operate to correct the errors in socialization. These controls force an individual to conform to social norm and to the designated

role. The parents and teachers and others appeal to the individual in many ways to conform to the ways of the group. They may appeal to his prejudice, to his pride in and desire for status within the group. They may punish him by withdrawing privileges or even affection by isolating him or excommunicating him. We find that different kinds of social incentives may be used to make the individual conform to the group norms. Further, ' concern for what others think and say ', ' concern for what the others will do to us ', operate as powerful agents to bring about modifications in our behaviour. In other words, when we have internalised the social norms, the control will be from within. But this is no less a social product than social controls from without. For example, a boy may be very honest at home, but he has some desires which he satisfies by becoming a member of a gang in the neighbourhood. As a member of this gang, he may destroy some property because he does not want his friends to think of him as a coward. Thus a boy in that situation may have a conflict in himself between the social norms of his family and the social norms of his ' friends ' (See Chapter XX).

2. GROUP MORALE

We find that the group organization may effect the behaviour of an individual in a particular manner that is designated as ' group morale '. Morale signifies the general level of regard that the members have with respect to the group. It implies that the members have self-control, self-confidence and a sense of discipline as members of the given group. This depends upon the importance which an individual attaches to his membership of the group; when the membership is greatly valued, then the group will be able to enforce its norms. If an individual places a high value on belonging to the group, then he will strive to satisfy the demands of the group. On the other hand, if he is apathetic regarding his membership, he will not subordinate himself to the group norms. " If the members generally feel themselves strongly identified with one another, if each feels that all the others are contributing to the best of their abilities to the group activity and if there is general agreement that the forms of group action are desirable and profitable then morale is high. If there is dissension,

bickering and other forms of interpersonal conflict between group members, if there is distrust of the intentions or abilities of group leaders, if there is doubt concerning the validity of the group norms and uncertainty over the future of the group, membership identification is weak and a state of demoralization exists " (17.274). When there is demoralization in a group, we find that cliques will be formed composed of small sub-groups with their own sub-leaders who may be antagonistic to each other and to the organization as a whole. This will bring down the efficiency of the group as a whole. It is quite possible that a group may be well disciplined and unified when it is working for other causes. Studies in the World War have shown that battalions which are rated as extremely high in morale while in training camps disintegrated on the battlefield. Morale thus, is a complicated phenomenon which involves the goal situation also.

Many social psychologists stress the following five factors as being essential to good group morale :

Presence of a positive goal for the group to achieve, a feeling of togetherness in the members of the group, awareness of a danger to group, a conviction that conditions can be improved so that the goals can be reached and finally an awareness of advancement towards the group goals (18). In passing, we may observe that leaders like Gandhi and Nehru have been able, in India in recent years, to keep up the group morale by making the individuals feel that there is a positive goal, namely, political freedom in the olden days and the advancement of social and economic freedom in the recent years and making the individuals, the youth as well as the citizens, feel that the country as a whole is advancing towards the attainment of these worthwhile goals.

We may now consider briefly some of the factors which influence the group morale. We know that in general success improves and adversity lowers the morale of the group. The members of a prosperous family will work together with enthusiasm and faith when the family is going up the socio-economic scale. Similarly, the members of a club will be very enthusiastic when the club is growing. It is a familiar fact that the army which is successful in a battle enters the next engagement with greater zeal than the army which is

on the losing side. But we should not conclude that high morale and success are invariably associated. High morale may lead to success but success may also lead to demoralization. Just as an individual 'loses' his head because of his success, similarly a family or an army may become demoralized and dissipate its resources. On the other hand, a family, which has met with adversity, may struggle hard to cope with its difficulties. There is the great illustration of the way in which when the British retreated to Dunkirk their morale went up and they were able to meet the vast German armies later on. Similarly, the Russians at Stalingrad struggled against the vast German armies and ultimately, not only saved Stalingrad, but also Russia, from German conquest. Indian History is full of similar incidents where a small army was able to defeat a much bigger one. Thus factors other than success enter into the determination of the group morale.

Among these factors the traditions of the group and the character of its leadership are very important. A group with a long past and with fine traditions will maintain a high morale in the face of adversity. This is because the members have been socialized and made to value the noble traditions of the group. On the other hand, the newly formed group may become easily demoralized when it is faced with adversity. One of the factors here is that of socialization. The members who enter a new club or business enterprise or military organization may have a high morale so long as the group is successful but may become highly demoralized when adversity faces the group. Consequently, a long period of socialization is very necessary for identification with group. Then the individual will adhere to the group norms and will be ready to sacrifice in the interests of the group. On the other hand, a person who enters the new group or an organization will tend to evaluate his membership in terms of personal and immediate advantages. Thus a long period of apprenticeship serves two purposes. It enables the individual to learn the techniques, but more important than this, it enables the individual to identify himself with the group goals and the ways of the group. Ancient Indian thinkers called this the *sampradaya*.

Leadership also counts considerably in influencing the

group morale.   In groups with long traditions leadership may not count as much as in groups which are newly formed.   The leader has a greater part to play in keeping the group morale in success as well in failures. As we have seen above, demoralization may result both when the group succeeds as well as when the group fails.   In preventing demoralization, the leader plays as important a part as tradition.   He can put faith in the members of the group in the outcome of their efforts.

Participation in the activities of a group with high morale is stimulating as well as gratifying to the members of the group.   On the other hand, participation in activities of a demoralized group is discouraging as well as disheartening.   The individuals will put their highest efforts, they will conform to the group norms with willingness and enthusiasm.   They respond to the group controls and subordinate their interests to the requirements of the group membership.   But when there is demoralization in a group most of the members will tend to rebel against the authority of the group as well as its leaders.   They will tend to violate group norms and put their personal interests above the interests of the group.   Thus we find that the significance of social control depends not only on the nature of the group norms but also on the state of the group morale.

3. THE CHARACTER OF INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL

In order to maintain harmony in the primary group it is essential that the behaviour of each individual is effectively controlled.   Such a control should be informal and unobtrusive.   On the other hand, if it is too informal and if there is no enforcement, the possibility is that the primary group will be disrupted altogether.   " The informal social control which governs primary relations operates on the basis of careful self-control of each member who must adapt his behaviour to what he believes to be the expectations of others ; rather than make errors and taste the penalties he must make active efforts to foresee errors and avoid them,... " (19.266).

The extreme penalty of the primary group is avoidance. But if there is avoidance of one member by other members before long the primary group itself may be destroyed.

In extreme cases, such an expulsion from the primary group may lead to a disorganization in the life of the individual and mental breakdown with the result he may commit suicide. Another way in which informal social. control may penalize errors on the part of the members is by curtailment of intimacy in relation with the offender. Intimate relationship may be avoided and the relationship may become very formal. Yet another means of informal social control is ridicule. But more subtle than all these are the gestures of disapproval like lifting of the eyebrows, coolness in tone etc. These are really advanced warnings of greater penalties to come.

Several terms like tact, social intelligence, social skill are used to indicate the way in which the individual reacts to these informal social controls. It is possible that a man may be blind to these informal social controls and may land himself in great trouble. The person with social skill or social intelligence is one who is sensitive to the reactions of the other individuals and interprets their gestures and modifies his own behaviour in the primary group. It is not necessary that he should avoid errors by actually experiencing penalties. He may modify his behaviour on the basis of correct anticipations. The basis for his anticipation may be his own previous mistakes, and observing the errors of others and the penalties which they suffer. It is because of such anticipations the individual will avoid errors and he may become a popular person. " It is probable that social skills are rewarded in a great many ways which could not be induced or even traced by the person who obtains the benefits and, conversely the inept person can never know the range and extent of the penalties he pays for his social errors " (19.268).

As we have already seen above, one very effective way of attaining social skills is by the process of role-taking — by putting oneself into the shoes of other men and by emulating persons whom we admire. By adopting a number of models we may avoid social errors and adopt ways of behaving like the ideal man. In India, epics like Ramayana and Mahabharatha have given, to the illiterate villager, as well as the highly developed scholar, models of perfections. Attention may be drawn to the description of the ideal man, *Sthithapragna* in the *Gita* (12. II 54-72). Havig-

hurst and Taba have shown that the adolescents gave a composite picture of the 'ideal self' including the characteristics of a number of people when they were asked to write an essay on : " The person I would like to be " (20.80).

In a stable society, techniques of informal social control like the threat or ridicule or the lifting of the eyebrows may be much greater than that of physical force. A person goes through his life with a minimum of frustration by conforming to the group norms. It is a familiar fact that in our villages where the society is small, isolated and homogeneous, informal social control is very effective. There is no need for formal mechanisms of social control like the laws, the police etc. Even when there are mechanisms of formal social control, unless they are properly assimilated and internalised, they will not be effective. The law which is not assimilated as the social norm will be ineffective. To illustrate, we may take the case of the failure of prohibition in several districts of India. Law prohibiting drink is there. It is being enforced, but people constantly break this law. This is because the formal law is not supported by the informal social controls. When the parents at home, the teachers in the school or the leaders in the society, all do not condemn the evils of drinking and exercise informal social control, prohibition cannot be a success. There are innumerable cases in the office, the factory, the army and in such other organizations where the formal rules may be frustrated by the informal values of groups of members. When the groups of individuals behave in a way indicating approval of the breaking of formal rules, then the formal rules cannot come into effect at all. Consequently, no society can rest satisfied by merely putting laws on the statute book which are not incorporated in the social norms of the informal primary groups.

Basic personality pattern

1. THE TERM 'HUMAN NATURE' MISLEADING

Anthropological investigations in the recent years have shown that the term 'human nature' (21) does not help us to understand social behaviour. The term 'human nature' implied that there was something natural, that is,

something biological, which makes us behave in particular ways. It is true that human beings are biological. They live together in groups, eat, procreate and eventually die. So do many animals. Consequently, this term does not enable us to understand the differences between human beings and animals on the one hand and between various groups of human beings on the other. We presume that certain groups of people are cruel and war-like while others are kind and cooperative (See chapter XIV). We further presume that these differences between human groups is something biological. Long ago, the great biologist Darwin showed that the breeder of animals, by processes of selective breeding raises up different kinds of horses, dogs and chicken. Similarly, he raises different fruits which are most nourishing and abundant. We cannot say the same about the differences in social behaviour among the various groups because these differences are not the result of 'selective breeding'. No society puts to death or prevents from procreating individuals with behaviour characteristics that are not according to social norms of the group. On the other hand, what each group does is to mould the children born into the group to behave in ways which are consonant with the group norms. These group norms, as we have seen above, become internalized in the individuals and thus become spontaneous in their action.

2. INDIVIDUALS DIFFER FROM ONE ANOTHER

This has been well established by the investigations of the anthropologists (5). They have shown that the social norms as well as the methods of child upbringing which are inspired by these social norms lead to definite patterns in each culture. Kardiner (22) and others use the term 'basic personality pattern' or 'basic personality type' to designate these differences. This term indicates the fact that the personality characteristics of each social group are in many ways distinct. It points to the fact that individuals differ from one another. Some of these differences are individual in origin and some of these differences are social in origin. That is why we find differences from group to group, just as we find differences among the individuals of any group. As students of social psychology we have to

learn the conditions that are responsible for individual differences in social behaviour as well as group differences. There are certain common features in the methods of upbringing among the various families in a given group. This is the reason why we have group differences. They are based on the social norms. We may here refer to one illustration from Indian society. While it is true that individuals belonging to the same caste or sub-caste can marry, it is also true that individuals belonging to the same caste who belong to different linguistic groups do not marry. It is a simplification to assert that in Indian society caste operates in a simple fashion. Different caste groups in different linguistic areas have different social norms. Consequently, the custom of marrying within the same linguistic area has become very strong except in some bilingual zones. It is possible that when the social norms among the various caste groups as well as among the various language groups become more and more uniform restrictions regarding marriage may become less rigid. In fact, one of the underlying hopes of proselytizing religions is to make human groups alike by making them members of one religion. But the history of Islam, as well as of Christianity, clearly shows that this is Utopian. Even then there are many social norms which will differ. Consequently, it is idle to imagine that at any time all the various groups within the country, or in the world as a whole, will all have absolutely uniform social norms. Probably this is not desirable either. That is what communism hopes to do, not by proselytization but by violence. But even communism has now realised that different countries will have their own brands of communism. Russia has not been able to succeed in making the various communist countries of the same brand as the Russian. Long ago the ancient Indian thinkers realised the impossibility of such dreams. That is why one of the basic features of Indian culture is that the differences from group to group should not lead us to look upon them as fundamental and as a motive force to generate hostility and mutual extermination.

3. SOCIALIZATION LEADS TO RESEMBLANCES AND DIFFERENCES

Individual differences within the group are responsible for

the uniqueness of personality. Even among the members who are brought up in the same home we find that there are resemblances and differences which have biological basis and resemblances and differences which are based upon the socialization. Man's uniqueness is a product of these various biological and psychological differences. The concept of socialization helps us to understand the resemblances in behaviour among the individuals within a group and the differences between groups. A recognition of these differences within the group as well as between groups will go a long way in building up social harmony.

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SOCIAL MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL INCENTIVES

1. *Human behaviour is biogenic and sociogenic*

IT IS NOW generally agreed that experience and behaviour
are the outcome of internal as well as external stimulus
factors which are operating at the given time.   It is further
generally agreed that behaviour is 'goal-directed', moti-
vated.   These motives are biogenic, dependent upon the
tissue needs of the organism.   Consequently these motives
are common to animals and human beings.   Thus the
whole process of socialization depends upon the motivation
process.   The parents as well as others who are in charge
of children build up the socialization process wittingly or
unwittingly on the basis of motivations.   So it is necessary
for us to study these problems of motivation in relation to
social psychology.

Reference may be made to the controversy regarding the
problem of 'instincts'.   Thinkers like Trotter (1) believed
that the herd instinct was the special social instinct on which
social life is based.   McDougall (2) asserted that the social
life is based upon the herd instinct as well as a number of
other instincts like the parental instinct, self-assertion, self-
submission, appeal, sex and so on.   In the last 50 years this
term 'instinct' has gone out of usage because in the be-
haviour of man there is the problem of training on the one
hand and adjustment on the other.   Consequently, no act
of behaviour can be looked upon as instinctive in the sense
that it is just a complicated physiological response to a
particular stimulus situation.   The contrary view that the
nature of the reaction is dependent on the properties of
the stimulus is also rejected as this does not help us to
understand social phenomena.   It is now realised that be-
haviour is based on internal as well as external factors, that
behaviour is 'biosocial' involving biological factors as well
as social influences.   Further the basic tissue needs, it is

now realised, play an all-important part in the behaviour
of the organisms. The terms ' needs ', ' urges ', ' motives '
are now used to describe such internal physiological factors
which are at the basis of behaviour. It is further realised
that these motives which are to start with biogenic, are
affected by the social factors. To illustrate, to eat is bio-
genic but how we eat is sociogenic. Similarly, what we
eat and where we eat all these are conditioned by the group
in which we have been brought up. To us as Indians to
squat on the floor, to spread a leaf on it and eat the rice
or the chapati with some curry or pickle using our fingers
is something very ' natural '. But for the Japanese or for
the Westerner this way of eating looks very unnatural. To
them eating with some tools like chopsticks or the spoon,
fork and knife is ' natural '. The Westerner can eat a piece
of bread without any curry or pickle. Similarly the Japanese
can eat rice without any curry or pickle. To us Indians
this looks very strange. Our attitudes towards our own
ways of eating and dressing, our attitudes towards the ways
of eating of other people are the products of socialization.
There is nothing ' natural ' in one way of eating or another
way of eating. It is purely a matter of the group in which
we have been brought up. Similarly illustrations could be
given with every other motivated activity like sex or cloth-
ing, shelter, social distinction, recognition and so on.
Consequently, many motives of man are the products of
social interaction. Thus the motives as we find them ope-
rating among the human beings around us are both bio-
genic as well as sociogenic. We find that a good deal of
learning is at the basis of our motivated activities.

It must be realised that motivation is a concept in order
to explain behaviour that can be observed and described.
It is an inference based on our observations of the beha-
viour of animals and human beings under conditions of
every day life as well as under experimental conditions.
The rat which is hungry will learn to go through a maze
and obtain its food ; a rat which has been fed may go
through the maze but its learning will be very slow. Con-
sequently, we infer that there is some tension in the organ-
ism which arises out of the deprival of food. The ener-
getic action of the organism, its goal-directed activities, its
variability and its persistence and the way in which its acti-

vities cease when it consumes the food, all these lead us to infer that the behaviour of the rat is motivated by hunger.   Behaviour is looked upon as an activity which arises when there is a state of tension in the organism and the activity itself is looked upon as ' tension-reducing '.   If the organism is not allowed to move about, it becomes more and more restless, more and more active wherever it is. When the activity leads to the reaching of the particular goal, then the organism becomes quiet.   This kind of motivated behaviour, as we have seen, is not only based upon the physiological drives but it is also based upon drives which are of social origin.   A man struggles to obtain food, clothing and shelter not only for himself but for his family. When these minimum requirements are obtained, he does not stop working. His restlessness does not cease with the provision of minimum requirements.   He wants to be like his neighbours with better food to eat, bettter clothes to wear and better house to live in.   And so he works harder, earns more and profits more. What is the limit for this? It depends upon the group in which he is living. If he is living in a village, he is quite satisfied with a little more than his neighbours.   On the other hand, because in the city the neighbours have a good deal of amenities he will have to struggle for much more.   Irrespective of how much food or clothing or shelter a man obtains the basic consideration is to have the same standards as his neighbours or better standards than his neighbours whether it is in the village or in the city.   Consequently, the physiological motives do not operate purely at the somatic level.   They work within the given cultural setting.

2. *Interpersonal relationships based on motives*

Before proceeding further we can pause for a moment to understand the place of motives in social relationships. We enter into interpersonal relationships in order to achieve certain ends, probably to secure livelihood or to find a mate or to achieve status or recognition.   Thus motives constitute the basis for entering into social relationships.   In other words, we cannot understand social interaction if we do not take into account the motivations underlying the interpersonal relationships or group interactions.

3. *Physiological drives*

Whatever the cultural pattern may be, whether it is western or oriental, highly industrialized and technological or very primitive, among rich as well as among the poor, there are certain universal activities which are biogenic. Man eats, drinks, sleeps and tries to keep warm. In other words, he tries to sustain life as a biological organism. How he satisfies these basic physiological needs depends upon the cultural group in which he has been brought up. We find that such behaviour is reaction to an organic demand. It is a reaction to a chemical deficit or to some organic state. The organism under such conditions is roused to action and this action continues till the equilibrium is restored by the taking of oxygen or food or water etc. Apart from such reactions being universal in the species, a second distinguishing mark of the biogenic motives is that they are unlearned or innate. It is true that human behaviour aroused by any motive is modified by learning. Even the simplest activity like breathing is regulated by learning ; for example, among the singers and athletes. As we know the Yogic exercises have developed systematic ways of training how to breathe and the control of breathing. Consequently, these activities are looked upon as ' unlearned ' not because they are not affected by learning but because we are thinking of·the conditions under which they first appear in the organism. The biogenic motives are present either at birth or through maturation. They are not the products of learning though they may be greatly affected by learning. In other words, learning is not pre-requisite for their initial occufrence.

Among the biogenic motives we can include hunger, thirst, activity-sleep cycle, temperature regulation, sex, evacuation, urination and defecation and avoidance of organic injuries. These activities are found not only among all human beings but also among all the animals. Most of these physiological motives recur periodically. They are cyclic. We take our food and go to sleep at regular intervals. Of course, even this periodicity may be affected by social influences. For instance, people in the cities take four meals a day while those in the villages take two meals a day.

4. *The social drives*

Just as we find that physiological drives are universal, similarly we find that human beings strive to belong to a group and to acquire a position or a status in every society. Motives like these are to be found universally among all the human groups. Undoubtedly such activities are affected by the social setting to a much greater extent than the physiological drives.

(a) THE NEED FOR AFFECTION

The most fundamental social drive arises out of the need for affection. This need has two expressions. We have the need to receive affection from others, we have also the need to give affection to others. This need is not something peculiarly human. We find it among birds as well as the animals. The domesticated animal gives affection and longs for affection. Often times we find people expressing that a dog is much more reliable than the human beings. The dog runs to the master the moment he goes home and the master feels that here at least is one being which needs him. To be needed is something basic. When a man feels that he is not needed by anybody, when nobody wants him, nobody loves him, he feels that life is not worth living. This is where we find that family is a very important unit in social life. The parent-child relationship, the husband-wife relationship, the love of siblings, these have a very important position in the family situation. Projective tests like T.A.T. show how important this fundamental need for affection is to the personality of man. Due to wrong upbringing man becomes selfish and finds that nobody needs him, nobody loves him. He forgets that he has not developed the art of giving affection to others. We receive affection to the extent that we are able to give affection. The domesticated animal as well as the child who do not receive affection will become 'wild'. The individual who is deprived of affection at home will develop into a problem child. He may become a juvenile delinquent or a neurotic.

(b) SELF-ASSERTION

Self-assertion is another very important social drive. This

may manifest itself in the form of self-display. An individual may undertake difficult tasks to prove his abilities and to demonstrate his powers. He may try to differentiate himself from other people through dress, professional status, club-membership and such other activities, or he may fight for economic, political or intellectual freedom. It may even take the form of physical fighting or verbal argument. All these are methods of self-display in order to obtain satisfaction for self-assertion.

Self-assertion also takes the form of domination. Each tends to dominate over the small primary group or even over the whole secondary group. As we have seen before (Chapter IV) even lizards show patterns of domination and subordination. The heaviest males are at the top of the hierarchy of power. Further the lizards fight hard to defend the territory and control some area of movement. Similarly birds also try to establish a ' territory ' ; the male drives out the other males. There is also the dominance-submission pattern among the birds. Cases of ' despotism ' of one bird over the other have also been observed and reported. The most aggressive bird becomes the ' leader '. The studies of Zukerman and Maslow have shown that there is the struggle for dominance among the monkeys and the apes. The dominant monkey reserves all the available food for itself and shows aggression towards the other members of the group who show subordination by being passive or by flight. There is also social hierarchy of power among the monkeys and the apes. Thus we find that dominance-submission behaviour is not peculiar to the human beings. On the other hand, it is through cultural efforts that an individual or a group renounces domination. These two tendencies of social behaviour are closely correlated when an individual shouts loudly. He may become dominant and the others in the primary group may become submissive. It is quite possible that a person who is dominant in one situation may become quite submissive in another situation. For example, a person who is a submissive husband at home may be an aggressive foreman in the factory, or a person who is dominant at the house may be quite submissive in the work situation.

Another manifestation of self-assertion is the desire to be recognized, to be accepted as an equal, or as a superior,

by the other individuals in the group. We find the proto-
type of this need for recognition even among the animals
and children. It is a familiar fact that there is jealousy
among the little dogs brought up in the house; if one dog
is petted the other becomes restless and starts barking and
attacking the favoured dog. There is the jealousy among
the little children below 4 or 5 years. When the younger
child is fondled the elder child becomes jealous. He may
become aggressive or he may become sullen. This desire
for preference and resentment of preference being shown
to the rivals is a characteristic feature among children.
Unfortunately, many adults also are unable to get over this
childish way of reacting. It is well known that there are
rivalries based on the need for recognition not only among
the individuals but also among groups. A small country
may feel hurt if a big country shows preference to the
neighbouring country by giving it economic aid. It is well-
known that the Army officers, civilian officers, as well as
artists vie with each other to obtain the recognition of the
feudal Raja or Maharaja. That is why the palaces of the
small as well as the big countries in the East as well as in
the West are always full of plots and counterplots to gain
preference and recognition from the ruler. We experience
a great pleasure when our work is approved and recognized
and rewarded. On the other hand, to be ignored is a severe
form of punishment. We resent that nobody recognizes
our virtues, our skills and our accomplishments. Society
has developed many forms to show its approval and recogni-
tion of individuals as well as groups. We find this
not only in the feudal and imperialistic organizations but
even in the socialistic and communistic organizations. The
British set up a number of titles and awards as a sign of
recognition of 'loyalty' among the Indian citizens. This
was greatly resented as a technique adopted by the foreigner
to win the loyalty of the colonial. But even in the com-
munist Russia, Stalin prizes and Stalin medals were greatly
coveted. In India also, a new system of awards for distinc-
tion has been developed. This is an indication of a
double attitude towards recognition. Every individual
needs recognition but is also shy of it and he resents if
another is recognized. This need for recognition is a very
powerful motive which makes an individual as well as a

group to put forth the highest effort whether it is at home, in the class room, or in the wider society. Whether we are children, adolescents or adults we are all of us eager to obtain recognition and work incessantly and put forth our best efforts to obtain it. Fame as well as notoriety are both based upon this need for recognition. Individuals tend to put forth their best efforts whether they undertake activities which are socially approved or socially disapproved.

In brief, we may say that the two basic drives are, the need to belong and the need for status and power. These two needs may manifest themselves in diverse forms. Both these have their roots in animal behaviour as well as child behaviour. But both are greatly influenced by the group in which the individual is brought up. An individual may strive to attain status by destroying his whole property or by acquiring untold wealth or learning. Similarly the need to belong may express itself in juvenile delinquency depending upon the situation and circumstances of the individual upbringing.

5. The relative potency of the physiological and social drives

It is very difficult to tell whether the social drives are more powerful or the physiological drives are more powerful. When there is tremendous physiological deprivation then the social needs may be thrown to the winds. Neither consideration of belonging nor consideration of status will prevent an individual forced to starve due to natural reasons like being isolated by devastating floods, or due to social reasons like a concentration camp, none of these reasons will prevent him from begging food or water, from any person. Similarly pursuit of wealth or pursuit of fame may impel an individual to even deny bodily needs. He may work without food, without taking rest in order to obtain status. A woman may mortify her body in order to maintain her slender figure or a Sanyasi may mortify his body in order to attain salvation. So it is difficult to determine whether the social drives or the physiological drives are more potent. It depends upon the individual as well as the circumstances.

6. *The physiological as well as social drives are affected by social norms*

The physiological drives as well as the social drives are both greatly modified by the group in which the individual has been brought up. As we have seen above, eating, satisfaction of hunger, is a physiological drive common not only to all human groups but common to animal as well as human beings. How we eat, when we eat, what we eat is determined by the group in which we have been brought up. This is where we can distinguish between the biogenic aspect and the sociogenic aspect of motives. Among human beings, eating rice or eating chapatis is sociogenic while eating itself is biogenic. Similarly wearing clothes depends upon the social drive regarding status and recognition. It is affected by the norms of the group in which we have been brought up. Whether we wear cheap cotton clothes or costly cotton clothes depends upon several conditions under which we have been brought up and in which we are living. To take another illustration, pursuit of wealth is one of the important motives among the civilized groups in the world today. This is not a primary drive, it is only a secondary drive. Wealth is sought because it enables us to satisfy certain physiological needs and certain social needs. But pursuit of wealth may itself become a powerful motive without relevance either to the physiological needs or to the social needs. In this respect, the way of life of the Indian is rather peculiar. Pursuit of wealth is perfectly in order for a *grihasta*. But when a man has done his social duty by his children, the Indian way of life enjoins renunciation of wealth. Accumulation of wealth according to Indian traditions is good neither to the individual nor to the society. All modern societies are now approaching this standpoint. In the capitalistic countries as well as in the communist countries it is now well recognized that accumulation of wealth beyond a certain limit by an individual should be prevented. Incomes are taxed and inheritance of wealth is taxed. In India, today we have besides these taxes, wealth tax, as well as expenditure tax. In the modern society taxation is the means adopted by the society to modify the individual's attitude towards accumulation of wealth.

7. *Social incentives*

1. MOTIVES AND INCENTIVES

Motives are based upon biological as well as the social needs of the organism. As we have seen among the human beings the physiological as well as social drives are affected by the cultural patterns. Motives are a set of internal conditions which give rise to action in an organism. Society sets up conditions to support or initiate, decrease or inhibit or to direct activities. These are incentives. Thus we find that incentives are conditions set up in order to alter behaviour of other individuals. Thus incentives may be positive or negative. A positive incentive reinforces action while a negative incentive inhibits action. The modification of the individual by the society is based upon the operation of these incentives. This is how social learning takes place. Considerable amount of experimental work in the field of learning among animals as well as human beings has been done in the last 75 years.

2. INCENTIVES MODIFY BEHAVIOUR

Material rewards are positive incentives which release drives and thus influence the speed and accuracy of performance. Similarly punishment or the removal of a reward is a negative incentive which inhibits certain drives. Apart from rewards and punishments, praise and reproof or scolding are also very powerful as incentives affecting behaviour. This is how the puppy learns to respond to its name and to give up urination and defecation within the house. It is rewarded with a biscuit if it does what the owner wants him to do. We use not only rewards and punishments, we also use affection as an incentive to socialize puppies. If the puppy responds correctly we bestow affection on it by patting it, embracing it ; if it commits errors we show our displeasure through our facial expression as well as through language, particularly the aspect of intonation. In the socialization of the infant also all these various incentives are used by the parents and later on by the teachers in the school. The leader of the group is one who is an adept in fitting incentives to the personality of his followers. It is the man who is able to make use of the appropriate incentives that can become a leader of a group. These incen-

tives aid the learning process. They do not originate behaviour. They can only modify behaviour. Incentives tap the motives and change the attitudes of the individuals in the group. When appropriate incentives are given the efficiency of performance improves considerably. On the other hand, inapppropriate incentives may lead to decrease in efficiency.

3. REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

A good deal of experimental work has been done in the last half a century regarding the influence of rewards and punishments on behaviour. We may give an account of some of these studies. In the mirror-drawing experiment, punishments as well as rewards are used as incentives to study their effect upon learning. Punishment informs the individual that his response is not correct. It does not indicate what is the right response. On the other hand, reward, as it is associated with the correct response, is of a greater value in fixing the right response. A combination of rewards for right responses, and punishments for wrong responses will lead to more efficient learning. Long ago Hamilton (3) showed that the same physical stimulus may be used as a reward or as punishment depending upon the situation. For example, the ringing of the bell may be used as a punishment if it is rung whenever there is an error. When this is done the individual develops a negative attitude towards the bell. He does not like the ringing of the bell and his aim is to try to see that the bell does not ring. On the other hand, when the bell is used as a reward the attitude towards the bell changes. He likes the ringing of the bell and he tries hard to make it ring. Thus the same physical stimulus may be looked upon as something to be avoided or as something to be sought after depending upon the conditions.

Experimental work has also been done to study the effects of monetary reward. Meier (4) reported that mentally retarded children improved their reading skill when money or candy were offered. Money was immediately exchanged to candy by these children. On the other hand, in industrial units the effect of monetary reward on production is different. Several reasons like the inevitable increase of the output norm, the possible retrenchment of workers, the like-

lihood of wage-cuts in depression, and the most important of all, the social norms within the primary groups in the factory, all these make money incentives valueless in industry.

4. PRAISE AND REPROOF

Experimental work has also been done to study the influence of praise and reproof. Hurlock (5) found that praise has a greater reinforcement value than reproof in an arithmetic test. Four groups were used, each of which had the same initial mean score in the test. One group was praised for its good work, the second group was reproved for its poor work and the third group was used as a control. The control group had no incentives and it did not know that incentives were given for the other groups. The fourth group was designated the 'ignored' group. This group heard the praise as well as the reproof to the experimental groups. But this group itself was not given any incentive. It was found that while the 'control' group and 'ignored' group showed hardly any difference in the final score, the praised group did remarkably well, improved about 75% while the reproved group showed only about 16% improvement. The critical ratio in the praised group as well as the reproved group was highly significant. Thus praise as well as reproof as incentives, improved test performance ; but praise was far superior as an incentive in comparison with reproof.

Similarly experimental studies' have been made regarding the effect of knowledge of results upon performance. Investigations have shown that the group with knowledge improve from trial to trial.

Thus rewards and punishments as well as approval and disapproval or praise and reproof have very great reinforcement value. These incentives help children as well as adults to conform to the social norms. Consequently conformity leads to reward or approval and satisfaction while non-conformity leads to punishment or disapproval and self-dissatisfaction. Socialization is achieved by these methods in all grades of human society in the tribal as well as in the most highly civilized groups.

5. COMPETITION AND COOPERATION

It is not always easy to differentiate between motives and

incentives in their concrete operation in a complex society. A student who enters the college may work hard, or may not work hard, because of a number of motives and incentives. A student may join college because he wants to train himself for a profession or because he wants to earn more money by becoming highly qualified. It may be that he wants to earn approval and social recognition by becoming a highly educated man, or his motive may be to meet young people of the same age, or to meet people who are higher in status and more cultured. Consequently, in a complex social activity it is neither possible nor necessary to draw any fine distinctions between motives and incentives. An individual may engage himself in gardening because he wants to attract more people to his garden than the neighbour or it may be due to an incentive : he wants to win the first prize in the garden competition. Thus competition may be based on a motive when it is, spurred by the desire for recognition and improvement in status or it may be due to an incentive when the desire is to win a competition or to earn more money.

Competition means striving to equal or surpass the speed and quality of another person's performance, or it may be to improve on one's own past performance. The basic characteristic here is to do better than what one has done or what another has done. This is a very powerful incentive in social life ; particularly in the modern Western society competition plays a very important part. The high level of prosperity among the nations of Western Europe and United States is due to this strong incentive to compete and to do better than other people.

6. COMPETITION AND RIVALRY

We must distinguish between competition and rivalry. Rivalry is a drive to equal or surpass the skill of another person. Sibling rivalry is a very important and outstanding phenomenon within the home. Constantly brothers and sisters become rivals and try to excel each other. In the same way in the old Indian society, there was a great deal of rivalry among the different wives of a single individual. What is the difference between competition and rivalry ?

. In ordinary language as well as in social psychology, we

do not make any distinction between these two terms. However, it will be better to draw a clear distinction between these two terms. It is here suggested that the term rivalry may be limited to those situations where a person or a group tries to crush the rival. In other words, they try to surpass the rival not by themselves doing better, but by pulling down the rival. Thus in rivalry an attempt is made to become superior to the other not by improving one's performance but by dislodging the other individual or group from the position occupied, so that one is superior to the other. The term competition may be restricted to the attempt by an individual or group to improve the level of performance so that one is superior to the other. Probably, a second distinction between the two may be made on the basis of the area of social relation in which the two individuals or groups are operating. Rivalry is limited to the face-to-face relationship, whereas competition is much more impersonal. Competition does not lead to jealousy and hatred whereas rivalry inevitably leads to both of them. Rivalry may ultimately lead one to violence because the first aim is to bring down the prestige of the other man or of the other group in the eyes of the rest and the ultimate aim is to annihilate the rival. Thus in a society in which non-violence is the ideal of human relationships there is no place for rivalry. But there can be plenty of scope for competition.

7. TWO TYPES OF COMPETITION

Even with respect to competition itself we can distinguish between two varieties. Competition with the other and competition with oneself. It may be asserted that in competition with oneself, the aim to be better and to do better today than what one was or did yesterday, is very superior to competition with the other individual or group. This is of the essence of the Five Year Plan in India where the group sets up targets so that it is better at the end of the five years than it was at the beginning of the five years. Thus the Five Year Plan is a supreme illustration of the operation of social incentive which is based on competition with oneself.

In societies where prestige, power and wealth are associated with birth and caste there is hardly any competition.

This incentive does not operate because however efficient one may be one's place is already limited by one's birth. Birth limits one's opportunities, and consequently, one's exertion and performance. This is where we find that after the Protestant Reformation the countries of Western Europe as well as the U.S.A., have given a good deal of scope for competition, where each man can work hard so that he can attain the highest position of prestige, power and wealth. The Indian Constitution by removing all the disabilities associated with caste, sex, creed, etc., has given scope for competition. It may be asserted that where competition in the sense in which we have defined above, namely, to do better than the other or than oneself, is limited, then rivalry, in the sense in which we have defined above, will become a powerful incentive. In the feudal society, in the caste-ridden society, there is rivalry. Constantly the aim of individuals as well as groups is to pull down the others, to crush the others. On the other hand, in a technological society the aim will be to be better than the others by exertion, by working hard. Thus rivalry is prompted by a certain set of social conditions. On the other hand, competition, particularly of the variety where one is competing with one's past performance, is something which has to become a social norm. The parents as well as teachers must encourage each child to compete with his own past performance.

8. DEVELOPMENT OF COMPETITION

Even in small children we find evidence of competitive behaviour. There are the acts of aggression when another child takes away his possessions. The toy becomes a part of the child's self. Its possession yields considerable satisfaction and consequently when a companion tries to take away the toy the child becomes aggressive. There may be conflict and free fight between the two children. In this situation the essence of competition is to acquire or to retrieve the possession of an object rather than to excel the competitor. The aim is the possession of the object rather than depriving the other of the object. When the child sees a bright object or toy with an elder brother or sister a state of disequilibrium is set up and the act of snatching that object is tension-reducing. On the other

hand, the snatching away of the object leads to a new state of disequilibrium and frustration in the other individual and consequently there is conflict which is primarily directed towards the possession of the toy.   Thus even in the first year the child learns these simple aggressive habits. Competition is also dependent on the behaviour of the elders at home.   The parents spur their children to do better than the other children, — "to beat the other fellow".   A child who just surrenders his play object is encouraged to be aggressive.   Thus the child may be aggressive not only to regain the object taken away by the other child, but also to earn the approval of the elders.   It is in this way that the child learns the technique of domination. It learns to find satisfaction in controlling others.   Attitudes of rivalry may also be built up.   The competition has its biological as well as cultural roots.   Differences in size and strength, possibly in temperament and intelligence, all these may foster competition.   In modern society aggression and violence do not serve the same purpose as they used to serve in the more primitive societies.   This is where we find a big difference between the other biological drives like hunger, thirst and sex and this drive for mastery.   In modern society there is plenty of scope for mastery without aggressiveness and violence.

Experimental work has shown that competition grows with age.   Greenberg (6) observed the children in nursery school in their block-building play.

	Competition		
Age	Present %	Absent %	Development %
2-3	0.0	89.5	10.5
3-4	42.6	55.6	1.8
4-5	69.2	23.1	7.7
5-6	75.4	15.8	8.8
6-7	86.5	5.4	8.1

In the above table we observe that competition in the children's play shows differences between 3-4 years of age and increase with age so that older children give evidence of competitive behaviour.   Competition depends upon growth in the motor, perceptual and intellectual fields.   It is only with social perception that competition may occur.

Thus by the time the child enters the school most children will have learnt how to compete with others.   Long ago Allport (7) showed there is social facilitation when an individual is working in a group.   Dashiell (8) showed that there is social facilitation even when the individual is by himself but knows that there are other persons in other rooms doing the same task.   Under such conditions the individual will do much better than when he is alone, and when nobody else is doing similar work.   Thus the sights and sounds of others working reinforces our work.   There is this reinforcement also when there are no sights and sounds but we know that other individuals are doing similar tasks.   To give a simple illustration when an individual who is cycling sees another cyclist ahead of him he competes with him and surpasses him.   This may spur the other individual to compete.   We see that cyclists compete with even motorists and feel very happy if they can surpass. It is a familiar sight that the tonga drivers compete with each other, probably to the dismay of the people sitting. But most times the people who have hired a tonga enjoy the fun.   Thus the sights and sounds of other people working rouses individuals to work better for self-enhancement.. The presence of spectators enhances competition in games and sports.   Sometimes, however, the audience may affect adversely and become a source of inhibition.

Experimental work has also been done with children in schools.   For example, Hurlock (9) used arithmetic tests and found that the experimental groups surpassed the control groups equal in age and initial ability.   It was found that the girls made slightly larger gains than boys under the impact of competition.   Similarly the younger children seemed to profit more than the elder children.   Finally, it was found that the initially inferior children seem to profit much from competition.   It is a well-known fact that most adults do not work to the maximum they are capable of working.   Green (10) studied 80 men and 80 women in spool packing and card sorting. Groups of 8 sitting in front of groups of 8, all of them worked : some were instructed to compete with the group in front and some were instructed not to compete.   It was found that all groups improved as a result of practice.   They began with 196 spools and at the end of the experiment the control group did 210·

spools, the non-competitive groups did 219 spools and competitive group did 228 spools. There was significant difference between the control group and the competition group while there was no significant difference between the other groups. This experiment showed that (1) practice improves performance, (2) the mere sights and sounds of of others working improves performance — social facilitation — and thirdly that competition, over and above and social facilitation, also leads to improvement in performance.

9. COOPERATION

Our knowledge of the psychological process involved in cooperation is not as much as our knowledge with respect to competition. With respect to competition as well as cooperation the field studies of the anthropologists have given us considerable knowledge. In general it may be stated that cooperation occurs when the ends sought are unlimited, while competition occurs when the ends sought are limited. Experimental studies of the children's play suggest that two factors determine cooperation, namely, the kinds of material available and the age of the development of children. Ross (11) reported that children of 2—3 years exhibited cooperative behaviour more frequently when playing with clay than when playing with blocks. It has also been found that cooperative play was evident most clearly among the children who were 3 years of age and older. Thus we find that both competition and cooperation are displayed clearly approximately at about the same age, namely, after 3 years of age.

Crawford (12) made a very interesting study of cooperative behaviour among the chimpanzees. He gave 3 problems to the chimpanzees. In the first problem, there was a heavy box with two ropes. It required cooperative effort of two chimpanzees to move this heavy box. In the second problem, the door of the food box would open only when two vertically suspended ropes were pulled simultaneously. In the third problem, the box had two handles and it was only when both these were manipulated and that in a coordinated way by two different chimpanzees that the door was opened and food tray obtained. In the preliminary stages, each chimpanzee was trained to pull boxes. Next the animals were put in pairs. It was found that there

was evidence of social facilitation. When the animals were in pairs each animal could pull a heavier box than what it could when it was in the alone-situation. But it was found that the chimpanzees could not learn to cooperate. Crawford asserts that probably the animals themselves may have never learnt to work cooperatively. After 12 sessions the animals learnt to pull two boxes at the same time. Even then each pulled without regard to the activity of the other chimpanzee. This is similar to the parallel play activity of children under three. In the 35th session Crawford gave the auditory stimulus ' pull ' when one of the partners began to pull. It was found that by the 40th session one of the animals learnt to respond to the visual cues, from the partner. After the two chimpanzees had learnt to co-operate in pulling two ropes to move one heavy box, the situation was changed by giving a single rope. It was found that there was no transfer effect. Thus according to this study cooperation requires attention to the visual and auditory cues. Even with a good deal of training the chimpanzees were not able to coordinate their acts with a single rope. This shows that cooperation has a long genetic history. We have to learn to cooperate.

Experimental studies have shown that groups are able to construct more words than individuals (13).

In organized games we have both competition and cooperation operating. There is team work within the group and competition between the teams.

Thus competition as well as cooperation depends on age, experience, social training and attitude. Anthropologists have shown that different cultures stress competitive and cooperative activities. In those societies where positions of power or prestige are achieved competitively there is emphasis upon competition. Among the Kwakiutl tribe there is extreme competition whereas among the Zuni Indians of New Mexico there is very little competition. Among the children there is competition and aggressive behaviour when the objects desired are few. Extending this principle it is generally asserted that where many individuals desire to reach the same limited goal there is competition. The scarcity of goods may be due to natural limitations like, for example, small food supply due to inferior soil or lack of irrigational facilities. Scarcity may

also be culturally dictated like, for example, paper currency or honours and titles. Similarly competitive games and sports, as well as academic prizes, are so arranged that only one person or one team can be victorious. Studies have, however, shown that the degree to which a society is competitive bears almost no relation to plentifulness or scarcity of the objects. For example, the Eskimo of Eastern Greenland are rarely well-fed and mostly on the verge of actual starvation. Still their society is one of the least competitive. On the other hand, the Zuni of New Mexico live in comparative plenty and are non-competitive. Among the Zuni when an individual accumulates a good deal of property he redistributes his wealth in a winter festival. Thus it is possible that cultural upbringing and social norms in the group may be a very important factor in determining whether a group is competitive or non-competitive.

In competitive societies individuals strive to maintain or to improve their position by their own efforts. But in the highly competitive societies there is a great deal of personal insecurity. Among the Kwakiutl, the brave man is constantly threatened by loss of position unless he returns larger gifts than he has received, or shows greater feats of personal bravery than his rival. Consequently, the Kwakiutl men are highly ego-centric, quick to take offence and very violent. In the West European as well as the American society also there is a great deal of competitiveness. Every individual constantly tries to be better than the neighbours. As Newcomb writes, ' Most of us spontaneously think of our positions in our communities in terms of success, in personal popularity, in marriage, in business, or in wealth and such self-judgements are made competitively. That is, success in any of these areas means the achieving of a position which can be reached by all. It is no wonder that psychiatrists such as Alfred Adler found feelings of discouragement and inferiority prominent in the neuroses of Western society. Competition can provide a powerful source of motivation, but the greater the number of roles in which success depends upon competitive achievement, and the greater the importance attached to competitive success, the more frequent are the opportunities for failure, threat and insecurity ' (14).

Another feature of Kwakiutl society is the existence of a

good deal of rivalry. Each individual looks upon his mirfortune as a humiliation which can be relieved only by bringing similar humiliation to others. Further the success of the other man is looked upon as a threat to one's own security and so he attempts to belittle the other man's success or to bring the other to disrepute or to undermine the other's success. It is attitudes such as these which help us differentiate between competition and rivalry. Rivalry, as noted above, leads to pulling down the other man. The term competition could be reserved to denote those activities which lead to improvement in one's achievement as compared either with others or with oneself. The later is the more desirable than the former. Both in the interests of social harmony and social progress, as well as in the interests of the individual's mental health, competition should be fostered and rivalry discouraged.

There is a tendency to look upon the individual's privileges and responsibilities as being largely determined by ' fate '. Among the Batonga tribe which is highly noncompetitive, man works to improve his position no doubt but he does not compete with the other individuals. Among these people, what is good for an individual is good for the whole village. So any achievement is shared by the group as a whole. Similarly, among the Zuni there is very little difference gained by individual initiative. In fact the individual is assured of his success. If an individual acquires a large property he immediately distributes it among his friends and relatives. In this group the individual who shows much individual initiative is looked upon as an abnormal person and may be suspected of witchcraft.

In Indian society the existence of the caste system leads to an acceptance of one's position in society which one obtains by birth. As far as the caste hierarchy itself is concerned, one cannot either go above or go below the caste in which he is born. But this does not mean that there is no scope for competition. However, it is possible that in Indian society rivalry plays a more important part than competition. Even with respect to the caste itself, several individuals in the caste group attain high status through individual effort. It is possible to add some prefix or suffix to one's caste name so that the whole caste group improves in its social position. It is not possible

to assert that there is absolute rigidity in the caste hierarchy. In the struggle for freedom and after the achievement of indepencence, the scope for individual initiative is definitely more. But the old pattern of rivalry engendered by the feudalistic society is yet prevailing. Probably with greater opportunities for employment, with greater opportunities for education, it is possible that the Indian society may be able to overcome its strong pre-disposition for rivalry. Particularly with the adult franchise we are finding that the members of the ' lower ' castes are now able to send their representatives to the Legislatures who may become members of the Cabinet. In Andhra State, the chief minister is a Harijan by caste. This is the reason why two contradictory tendencies are operating to-day with respect to caste. By Constitution, all the handicaps associated with caste are now legally removed and so there is the tendency towards absolute equality. On the other hand because the lower castes are now making use of the political privileges to attain equality, probably even supremacy, caste sometimes has become a stronger force today than before. It is possible that when all the caste groups feel equally strong, differences in caste may not operate as a force in furthering individual achievement. It is possible that before long the individual will be judged not by the caste to which he belongs but by his ability and character. In a broad way we may say that the Indian society has to give up the attitude of acceptance which leads to lack of faith in one's achievement. Also the attitude of rivalry towards the achievement of the other individuals has also to be eliminated. It may then be possible for the society as a whole to benefit by the individual's achievement. The valuable aspects of competition as well as cooperation could then be used for the progress of the individual as well as for the progress of the society as a whole.

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SOCIAL ATTITUDES: THEIR DEVELOPMENT & MEASUREMENT

1. *The importance of social attitudes*

PROBABLY no branch of social psychology has received more attention than this problem of social attitudes since 1920. It is looked upon as a central problem in social psychology. The net product of the socialization process is the formation of the social attitudes among individuals. These attitudes are reflected by the words and deeds of an individual. In his interaction with other persons and groups, in his dealing with the cultural products, in all these we see the influence of the social attitudes. It is by forming the appropriate social attitudes that one becomes a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian ; a Congressman or a Socialist or a Communist ; a Capitalist or a labour leader. Nobody is born one way or the other. He becomes one by the formation of the appropriate social attitudes. In the last 40 years, considerable work has been done regarding the formation, the change and measurement of social attitudes. Studies have been made about the way in which groups of people incline towards the church, the school, the political party, the economic programmes, war and such other institutions.

2. *Definition*

An attitude denotes an adjustment of the individual towards some selected person, group or institution. In forming an attitude towards some aspect of the environment an individual shows a readiness to respond. In reaction-time experiments, it has been found that there are differences in reaction-time depending upon the attitude taken by the individual. It is conceived as a state of preparation for discriminating among stimuli (sensorial attitude) or as a state of preparation for reacting as quickly as possible upon the occurrence of a definite stimulus (motor-

attitude). Thus an attitude results in a state of preparation or a state of readiness to respond in a particular manner under particular circumstances. An attitude determines a certain expectation; if the events are in line with these expectations then there is satisfaction. But if the events are contrary to the attitude then there will be dissatisfaction. In this chapter, we are not dealing with attitudes in general. Attitudes could be formed to social as well as non-social aspects of the environment. We are now concerned only with social attitudes, that is, attitudes formed in relation to social stimulus situations. Thus social attitudes may be formed towards persons or groups of persons ; towards the products of human interaction. These products of human interaction may be material like the technological devices or they may be non-material like the values or norms of a group.

3. *Attitudes leading to conforming behaviour*

People in different cultures form definite attitudes towards what is desirable and what is undesirable. In other words, social attitudes involve values. There is a readiness to do or not to do certain things. For example, people in different cultures have definite attitudes about what is desirable to eat and at what time food should be taken. Thus the attitude sets a person for or against persons, groups, things, and institutions. Thus attitudes define what is to be preferred, expected and desired and what is desirable and what should be avoided. Thus, in terms of its consequence, an attitude is goal-directed. Attitudes may be referred to as sociogenic motives. Attitudes arise out of the socialization of an individual in a group. It must be emphasised that we cannot observe attitudes. Social attitudes can only be inferred from the speech and behaviour of individuals. Some social psychologists refer to attitudes as " conforming behaviour ". For example, F. H. Allport (1) pointed out that distribution of individuals towards certain typical instances gives us a " J " curve. The majority of the members of a group will reveal the particular attitude and so will be lumped together at one end. The curve for the rest of the group will taper off towards the other end. With the increase in the degree of division there is the decrease

in the number of cases resulting in the form of a " J "
curve. An example may be given from the dress of students
in the colleges. The large majority of the students today
wear a shirt or kurta and a pyjama. Other variations in
dress like wearing pants or dhoti will be by a very small
number. So if you put the type of dress along the ' X '
axis and the number of people wearing the dress along the
' Y ' axis and draw the curve starting with the group which
is the largest there is ' J ' curve. Similarly, if we stand
near a temple and observe the reaction of the people as
they pass the temple on the street, we will find that a very
large number of Hindus will stop for a second and offer
prayer and a very small number will just pass by. Such
conformity to social norms is based on the development of
social attitudes.

4. *The distinguishing features of social attitudes*

An attitude which determines the characteristic, or a con-
sistent, mode of behaviour in relation to a particular aspect
of the environment is an internal factor. What are the
criteria which differentiate attitudes as internal factors
from other internal factors ? Sherif has given a few criteria
which help not only to differentiate attitudes as internal
factors from other internal factors, but also to learn about
the characteristics of the attitudes themselves. According
to Sherif the following are the distinguishing features of
attitudes (2.494).

1. Attitudes are not innate. They are formed or learnt
by the individual as he grows up in the group. Conse-
quently, attitudes are not biogenic though they are based
on the biogenic motives, for e.g., craving for food is bio-
genic but strong preference for rice or for wheat, is an
attitude that is formed because of the family in which one
is brought up. If the children in the south, and in other
predominantly rice-eating parts of India, have to change
their attitudes towards wheat, then wheat should be intro-
duced right from childhood. But it will be accepted by
the children only if the mother and father also take it as
a part of the food. Thus unless the parents change their
attitudes towards food, children cannot change their atti-
tudes.

2. Attitudes are more or less lasting. They are enduring. But since attitudes are formed they are subject to change. They are not immutable. Because we conform to attitudes we can also change the attitudes provided there are the proper conditions. Our previous illustration gives us an insight about the changing of attitudes.

3. Attitudes imply a subject-object relationship. Attitudes are always formed in relation to certain persons, groups, objects or institutions. So attitudes are not just internal factors without any relationship with the external factors. On the other hand, they can arise only in relation to some aspect of the environment.

4. Attitudes involve individuals as well as groups. An individual may develop an attitude of hostility towards another individual or he may look upon the whole group to which the other individual belongs as hateful. A gang of boys may develop hatred towards a rival gang. They may consider not only that a particular individual in the rival gang is treacherous, but that all the individuals in that gang are treacherous. To the Hindu Mahasabha man every Muslim in India, Pakistan and elsewhere is hateful. Similarly to a man of the Muslim League, every Hindu is hateful. To an American, not only the communist countries like Russia and China are hateful, but even the non-aligned countries are undesirable. Thus our social attitudes may encompass not only individuals but also groups, small as well as vast. There is a process of generalisation and consequently all the out-groups are looked upon as aggressive, dishonest and so on. As we shall see later on, this is a very important factor in social behaviour.

5. Attitudes have motivational-affective properties. As we have seen already, attitudes are learnt. How can we then distinguish attitudes from other learnt items ? According to Sherif attitudes have the motivational-affective properties. Unlike other learnt items, an attitude is goal-directed in a positive or negative way.

6. Attitudes are shared by the members of a group. All the above criteria apply to attitudes which are social as well as non-social. The distinguishing features of the social attitudes are (a) that they are formed in relation to social situations and (b) that they are shared by the members of the group. That social attitudes are more or less common

among the members of a group, with the exception of a few members who are deviant, is an essential feature. It is this that leads to conforming behaviour of the large majority of the members of a group and the deviation only by a small minority. The norms and values of a group are internalised through the formation of attitudes.

There is another peculiar feature in the learning of attitudes as compared with the other learnt items in an individual's behaviour. We find that the new members of the group form attitudes through short-cut verbal dicta like proverbs and aphorisms. Verbal formulae like proverbs induce certain attitudes by being accepted. The elder or the senior members of a family present these value judgments with an air of finality and they are accepted by the younger and junior members of a group who are in the process of becoming members. Thus social attitudes are formed, not on the basis of individual and personal experiences, as much as through the acceptance of the verbal formulae. Even when the personal experience contradicts the prevailing social attitude, the chances are that the individual will tend to look upon the personal experience as an exception rather than as the truth. We will learn more about this when we are dealing with the problem of stereotypes in a succeeding chapter (XIV).

In a general way, it may be stated that an attitude is a readiness to respond to certain situations, persons, objects or ideas in a consistent manner. This kind of readiness is the result of learning and it becomes a habitual mode of response. Thus an attitude implies on the one hand a well-defined object of reference and on the other a variation in the degree or strength of a person's attitude from extremely positive to extremely negative. The strength of a person's attitude may vary all the way from extremely favourable attitude towards that issue to extremely unfavourable attitude.

Some experimental studies regarding influence of attitudes

It is now generally accepted that a social attitude determines the characteristic and consistent mode of behaviour. Further, there is a selective mode of response towards the relevant stimuli from the environment on the basis of

the attitude. We can give a few experiments which have been conducted to study these problems. Marks (3) conducted an experiment to study the influence of attitudes on the judgment of skin colour. He obtained the ratings regarding skin-colour and also ratings regarding attractiveness from four groups of Negro students. The sociologist Johnson (4) has observed a preference for light brown skin colour among the Negro youth. Marks found that there was a tendency to displace the ratings of subjects considered attractive in the direction of the preferred skin colour. It was further found that the rating of a person's skin colour served as an anchorage for judgment. The persons who were lighter in skin colour than the rater were judged as 'light' and those darker than the rater were judged as 'dark'. Thus a person's rating of himself influenced how he rated the skin colour of the other people. Further, those who are looked upon as attractive were given lighter rating and those who were looked upon as unattractive were given a darker rating. In another study, Asch (5) obtained ratings for two political figures, Roosevelt and Hitler, with respect to 'intellectual power' and 'physical attractiveness'. It was found that the large majority of American students looked upon Roosevelt as having the highest ranking and Hitler as having the lowest ranking with respect to intellectual power and physical attractiveness. This study confirms the ordinary experience we have with respect to our judgments about the attractiveness of the parents, the teachers, and other leaders in society whom we love and like, and the opposite with respect to those whom we dislike or hate. Our attitudes influence our judgment regarding the behaviour and the desirability of the individuals around us. If we like people, we overlook their deficiencies and defects but if we dislike people, we tend to exaggerate their defects. This is why the Gita bids us to give up *Raaga* and *Dvesha* when we are dealing with the other people. It is our likes and dislikes that lead us to prejudice. Probably if the same study of Asch referred to above had been conducted among the German students at that time the results would have been quite the reverse. Postman and his associates (6) gave the Allport-Vernon test of values and then presented 36 words representing the six values included in the test in a tachistoscope. The

words were exposed for a very short time and they gradually increased the exposure till each word was recognized. It was found that the greater the value of a word for the subject the shorter the time needed to recognize it. Murphy (7) chose two groups of students who had strong and opposite views on a political issue. The members of each group were presented with two communications from opposing points of view through loudspeakers at the same time. It was found that the individuals favouring one view heard the relevant communication as the figure and the other as the background, while the control subjects were almost equally divided in hearing one or the other communication as figure. Reference may also be made to the study of Proshansky (8) who devised a projective method for the study of attitudes. He gave pictures of social conflict situation to two extreme groups who had strong pro-labour or anti-labour attitudes. He asked them to describe the pictures. He found that the individuals with pro-labour attitudes stressed that the government was callous and was not providing proper housing conditions for the poor people. On the other hand the individuals with anti-labour attitudes described the pictures as depicting sloppy people who seem to enjoy dwelling in slums. Finally, reference may be made to an interesting study by Kubany (9). He tried to find out the differences between a group of post-graduate social work students who were known to be favourable to national health insurance scheme and medical students who were known to be opposed to the scheme. He obtained their reactions to 50 items regarding the national health scheme. He found that the subjects gave two curves with very slight overlap. While the average for the group as a whole was 9.55, the average for the social workers group was 14.64 and that for the medical students was only 5.93. Thus several attempts have been made to study the influence of attitude upon the judgement of our experiences.

Measurement of social attitudes

1. THE SCALING OF TEST ITEMS

An attitude involves belief or disbelief, acceptance or rejection and favouring or not favouring some aspect of

the environment. In order to measure attitudes, scales have been constructed consisting of short statements dealing with several aspects of some issue or institution under consideration. The statements involve favourable or unfavourable estimations, acceptance or rejection. Consequently, the central problem of the measurement of attitude is the scaling of test items. It is presumed that a series of statements can be made which serve as the marks of a yardstick for the measurement of attitudes. Each statement will represent a specified degree of acceptance or rejection of a belief. Further these statements have to be equally spaced throughout the entire range of attitude continuum from complete acceptance of a belief to its complete rejection.

Two methods of measuring attitudes may be considered briefly in this section. Thurstone's (10) method of equal appearing intervals and Likert's (11) method of summated ratings.

Thurstone's method of equal appearing intervals

The theory underlying Thurstone's method of equal appearing intervals is that if a person indicates the statements he accepts and rejects he can be located at a definite position on the attitude continuum. Consequently the problem is to select an appropriate series of statements and to determine what positions on the attitude continuum each statement represents. In order to solve this problem Thurstone collected a list of statements from several sources like newspaper articles, legislature proceedings on issues, pamphlets, opinions of colleagues etc. The important thing is that these statements should represent all the various stand-points from complete acceptance to complete rejection. Generally about 200-300 statements will have to be collected in order to prepare an attitude scale according to this method. The next step is to edit these statements. Several statements which are not very pertinent to the issue under consideration or which are ambiguous could be eliminated. Similarly statements which are duplicating could also be eliminated and the statements could be re-worded so that they are more effective. It is important to see that each statement is a reflection of opinion

and not a fact. The statements should be simple, short, complete, definite and direct so that they could be accepted or rejected. The investigator must avoid his prejudices when he is collecting and editing these statements. The next step is to arrange these statements from extremely favourable to extremely unfavourable continuum. They should also be arranged in equal appearing intervals so that a scale resembling a footrule could be constructed. In order to do this Thurstone followed the procedure of getting each statement typed on a slip of paper. He got several people to serve as judges and each was asked to sort the slips of paper in 9 to 11 groups. For example, if we take up statements expressing our attitude towards prohibition or language issue we can collect hundreds of statements involving definite opinions all the way from complete acceptance to complete rejection. The judges could be asked to sort the statements in such a way that all those which express the greatest appreciation of prohibition are put into one pile and at the other end all those statements expressing the strongest disapproval of prohibition could be piled up as the 9th or 11th pile, as the case may be. Then the other statements could be classified in between these two depending on the degree of appreciation or deprecation of prohibition. Each judge is now trying to sort these statements purely on the basis of whether the statement is favourable or unfavourable regarding the issue. The judge is not thinking about his own preference now. Further they are asked to distribute them into 9 or 11 piles so that the intervals are equal appearing, equally spaced throughout the range of the attitude continuum. Thurstone used as many as 300 judges. But studies have shown that reliable evaluation can be obtained with about 20 or 30 judges. Ferguson used groups of 25-50-75-100-125-150-200 judges. He did not find any advantage in the increase of numbers (12).

After getting the judges to classify the statements into the various piles, the next step is to find out the median value of each statement. There is the problem whether the personal attitude of the judges will not affect their evaluation. Thurstone assumed that when a man is asked to evaluate the statements he will not be influenced by his own attitude towards the issue. Studies have been made

to find out if Thurstone's assumption is correct.) Hinckley (13) asked a group of Negro students, a group of white students from the north and a group of white students from the south to evaluate 114 statements in order to build up a scale of attitude towards Negroes. He constructed 3 scales on the basis of the evaluation of the 3 groups. He found that these 3 scales were identical in content. Only one-statement was found not to occupy the same relative position in all the three scales. Thus the Negroes who were involved in the problem as well as the whites who were unfavourable to the Negroes, and the whites who were favourable to the Negroes, all these three different groups gave the same evaluation for the various statements when they were asked to sit in judgment over each statement. Other studies have given similar results. Thus it may be concluded that the attitude of the rater does not influence him when he is evaluating the statements to prepare an equal appearing interval scale.

Ferguson (12) tried to find out if the evaluation of the statements by different groups with status differences will affect the evaluation. He tried to construct an Assistant Managerial evaluation form and he obtained judgments from a group of Managers, Assistant Managers and Agents. It is clear that among these three groups, the Assistant Managers are ego-involved as the statements relate to them directly while the Managers are a superior status group, and the Agents are an inferior status group. But Ferguson found that all the three groups rated in the same way. Thus, this technique of using judges in preparing the equal appearing interval scales is satisfactory.

Another problem with respect to this procedure of establishing the scale values is the influence of different time periods and changing cultural trends. Farnsworth (14) found a high degree of correlation (.97) between the evaluation of items with respect to Peterson's scale for the measurement of attitude towards war prepared in 1930 with the values obtained in 1940. This problem needs to be studied in different cultures.

After determining the median value for each statement the next problem is to select a small number of statements representing each value position along the attitude continuum. Roughly about 20—25 items will have to be selected..

All the statements which are judged to be ambiguous or irrelevant to the continuum are eliminated. Finally, the scaled attitude test is administered and the respondent is asked to check those statements with which he is in agreement. His score is the median of the scale values of the items that he has checked. Thus the subject is required to indicate his agreement or disagreement with each statement. Before closing this section, we may give some illustrations of the way in which Thurstone's scale to measure the attitude towards Church works. It was found that the mean value for Catholics was 2.90 while that for Protestants was 3.97 and for Jews 5.44. In this scale, the lower the score the more favourable is the attitude towards the Church. It was found that the mean value for those who attend the Church was 3.06 while for those who are not attending the Church was 5.93. The coefficient for reliability for this test was in excess of .80, while, the coefficient for evaluating, when the results were correlated with self-rating was .67.

Likert's method of summated rating

This method is much simpler than that of Thurstone. In this method also, a number of statements regarding the issue have to be collected. The subject is asked to indicate the degree or the strength of his attitude towards each statement on a 5-point scale : strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, strongly disagree. These answers are assigned numerical values ranging from 5-1 or from 1-5 according as the response is favourable or unfavourable. Thus high scores indicate a favourable attitude. The individual score on a particular attitude scale is the sum of all his ratings on each of the items in the scale. It is obvious that this scale does not have any absolute system of units such as Thurstone's scale. The scores of this scale have to be interpreted merely on a relative basis, that is, on the basis of whether the score is higher or lower indicating whether the attitude of the individual is more favourable or more unfavourable. In this method also elaborate steps are followed in order to eliminate all the weak items by finding out the correlation of each item with the total test. This is how the internal consistency is established.

Studies have been made to compare the results obtained by Likert's technique with the results obtained by the more complicated method of preparing the scale following Thurstone's technique. It has been found that there is a high correlation (.92) between the measurements of the two different scales. But it must be realised that Thurstone's scale has an absolute system of units and also shows higher reliability. Thus even though Likert's method does not make use of evaluation by judges we find that it is quite useful. Another advantage of Likert's technique is that it indicates the intensity of opinion as well as the direction of opinion.

Method of social distance

This method has been developed by Bogardus (15). It is a familiar fact that there are various degrees of social intimacy. For example, when strangers come to our house we may speak to them for a few minutes. Further, we may not take them inside our house. On the other hand, if close friends come to meet us we take them into our room and probably we may give them a cup of coffee, or invite them for dinner. There are also degrees of intimacy or social distance when we are dealing · with people of different religions or people of different castes or people of different classes; we tend to have various degrees of social intimacy with them. It is the usual practice in several homes not to admit the servants, other than cooks, into the kitchen. Similarly it is the usual practice not to admit people of other castes or groups into the kitchen, or even into the dining room. Even with respect to the offering of seats we find that differences are made on the basis of class, caste and other considerations. A man of lower caste or class may be asked to sit on the floor whereas a mat or a chair may be provided for a person of superior caste or class. Thus in various degrees in our personal relationships with other individuals as well as in our social relationships with members belonging to other groups we tend to maintain a certain social distance. The most obvious illustration of the operation of this principle of social distance is the old practice in India where, in the cities, and even more so in the villages, the members of the Harijan group are made to

live in the outskirts of the town or the village. It is only recently, with the changes in the attitude of people towards this problem, that members of the Harijan groups are allowed to live in houses in any area of the city. Probably, it may be a long time before a similar change comes over in the villages. The technique of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the results obtained are described elsewhere (see Chapter XIV).

Attitude formation and change

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

In the recent years there has been a widespread interest in actively changing the attitudes of people within the country and towards people in other countries. Groups within the country, as well as the government, are engaged in changing the attitudes of people towards the various problems. In the United States, during the 1930s Roosevelt brought about a big change in the attitude of people towards workers as well as farmers because of the measures he took to counteract the disastrous economic consequences of 'depression'. Similarly, the Labour Party of Great Britain brought about vast changes among the people towards the problems of the working classes. In India, Gandhiji undertook the enormous task of changing the attitudes of the millions of people who were either apathetic or actually frightened of the British suzerainty. He adopted several techniques to make the Indians develop an attitude favourable to 'swaraj' and democracy and against the foreign rule. At the same time, he tried to change the attitude of the British so that they became favourable to end colonialism and unfavourable to the use of violence against unarmed Satyagrahis. Further, he tried to change the attitude of the Hindus so that it became favourable towards Muslims, Harijans and other minority groups. Similarly, he tried to change the attitude of Muslims so that it became favourable to Hindus. It is needless to list all the various changes which Gandhiji brought about in the political, social, economic, religious, educational, and other fields. It is by changing our attitudes so thoroughly and so pervasively that he was able to build up a nation which has weathered all the difficulties in the years since

the attainment of the country's Independence.

The governments in every country of the world are actively engaged in changing attitudes of people. For example, all the highly developed countries like United States, Great Britian, Germany, Japan, Russia and other countries are now feeling it their duty to help the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and South-America, so that these countries can become economically prosperous. This is something absolutely new in the history of man. From plunder, conquest and colonialism, there is this change towards helping the weak and undeveloped countries to become self-reliant and economically prosperous. In India, for example, many attempts are being made to change the attitude of the farmers and peasants so that they take up to new methods of agriculture, chemical manures, cattle breeding; cooperative societies etc. Similarly attempts are being made to change the attitude of the industrialists so that they work, not only for their own profit, but also for the well-being and economic prosperity of the country as a whole. Similarly attitudes of the businessmen are being changed so that they do not make a profit at the cost of the helpless customers. Thus in every country active steps are being taken to change attitudes.

This accelerated rate of social change in our times is due to several changes in political, economic and technological fields. Politically it is now realised that colonialism is outmoded and that each country has the right to have a government of its own. In the economic field it is accepted that in every country the poorest and the under-privileged groups must have the means to live in comfort. Consequently, in every country, attempts are being made to raise the standard of life so that no family is without resources for decent living conditions. The great advances made in technology have now brought the whole world very close so that with the radio, we know what is happening at the ends of the world within a few minutes, and in the jet plane we can travel to any part of the world within a few hours. All these developments in thought as well as in technology have forced the pace of change in every part of the world. Consequently, in every country, attempts are being made to change the outlook of the people so that they can have faith in themselves, work hard, and change their living

conditions, so that the disparity in standards of life from group to group within a country or between countries is reduced.

THE PROBLEM OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

As we have seen earlier, we can only infer attitudes on the basis of the readiness of the people to respond positively or negatively towards certain situations or areas. Further, attitude formation brings about a consistent and characteristic mode of reaction to particular situation. Consequently, attitude change means a change in the stand of the individual regarding a given issue or problem. It may be asked, how we can find out whether a person's attitude with respect to some issue has changed. We can measure the change of attitude by the same methods as we employed in our study of the existence of attitude. Attitude change implies that the issue towards which we were unfavourable produces now an attitude of being favourable towards it or vice versa.

It must be borne in mind that both the formation of attitude and change of attitude are not self-generating. Formation as well as change of attitude involve inter-personal relations. Consequently, there are both internal factors as well as external factors involved in the formation and change of attitudes. The internal factors refer to the motives of the individuals, the ideals of the individuals and so on. The external factors refer to the experiences of the individual, the communication which he receives from others in the group and so on.

TECHNIQUES FOR ATTITUDE CHANGE

In the recent years, experimental work has been done in order to determine the techniques for bringing about changes in attitudes. In a broad way it may be stated that there are two methods used to induce changes in attitudes: (a) by exposing individuals to an external influence, the experimentor tried to study the changes which have taken place in the individuals. The design of the experiment is as follows: An atttiude test is given to a group of individuals. A measure is obtained of their attitude towards the particular issue. For example, we can give an attitude test to a group of people to measure their attitudes towards the

Harijans. After this, the whole group will be exposed to a particular experience, for example, a Harijan Sevak Sangh leader may be invited to deliver a lecture upon the problem of the Harijans, and the attempts made by the Harijan Sevak Sangh to improve the living conditions of the Harijans, or probably a film may be shown of the conditions of the Harijan village, its dirt, its squalor ,its utter poverty and degradation of the conditions under which the Harijans live and the way in which a programme of work for the uplift of the Harijans, their education, improvement of their houses, working conditions, social relationship with the other groups of people and so on, may be shown. After exposing the group towards a particular experience or series of experiences, again an attitude test may be given. The difference, if any, between these two measures will indicate the influence of the experience in bringing about a change in attitude. In a similar way, for instance, we can study the attitude of people of a given area towards the Bhoodan movement just before Vinobaji is programmed to visit that area. A week or two after Vinobaji passed through that area, again an attitude test may be given. This will tell us to what extent exposure to Vinobaji's personality, his lectures, contact with Bhoodan workers, bring about a change among the people of the given area with respect to the Bhoodan movement.

(b) The second method of studying the conditions under which attitude changes take place is by what is known as the interaction technique. Here the individual is placed in a social setting and there is opportunity for him to have interactions with other individuals. One of the most impressive investigations of attitude change using this technique is Newcomb's Bennington method (16). Bennington College is a small women's college in the United States with about 250 students. It is situated in a fairly isolated place. Consequently, the students are not exposed to the usual city experiences. The authorities of this University and the teachers have a liberal outlook regarding the social and economic issues. It was one of the ideals of this college to make a student become aware of the social issues. The students came from urban, economically privileged families. So their attitude towards a number of these social and political issues was generally conservative. Newcomb-

gave a test every year to study the attitudes of the students towards live social issues. He also employed the technique of interviewing. Among the issues were unemployment, public relief, the organization of labour and so on. These studies were made in the 1930s during the depression years. Newcomb found that the great majority of the students shifted from conservative stand to the liberal stand regarding these issues. It was found that prestige and leadership were acquired by students who were very liberal. The differences in the attitudes with respect to these live issues were statistically reliable. But it was also found that there were some students who did not change appreciably. Further, there were a few who resisted change. Newcomb asserts that the changes among the great majority, as well as the resistance to change among the few, could be explained in terms of the Reference Group concept. As we have seen already, each group will have its own norm, with its own status and role-structures. The individual derives his attitudes from the prevailing norms of the group. Now for the great majority of the students who changed from conservative to liberal attitudes the college became the reference group. On the other hand, those who resisted change continued to be influenced by the family as their reference group. In other words, for these people the college community did not become a reference group. Consequently, the social norms within the college did not affect their attitude. Thus, this study of Newcomb shows how changes in attitude take place in an individual. He also tried to study why the college community became a reference group to many individuals and why it did not become a reference group for others. He found that for the majority of the students the college community became effective by providing a sense of belongingness, a sense of status and achievement. Thus students reported that they were " absorbed in college committee affairs " and " influenced by community expectations ". Thus, the college community was a very important influence in the lives of these people. On the other hand, the individuals who did not change reported that they were " indifferent to the activities of the students committees ". It was further found that in some of these individuals there was a conflict between the ideals of the home and the family and the ideals of the

college. One girl said "family against faculty has been my struggle here". Thus, a thorough study of the personal variations with respect to attitude change involves an intensive study of each individual, his personal history, the informal cliques to which he belongs and so on.

We can give another illustration of this technique of group interaction. Kurt Lewin and his associates made very important studies about the problem of attitude change using the technique of groups decision (17). As Cartwright and Zander put it " the logic behind these studies is that a group norm is the priority of the group as a whole. If one is to change this norm, and thus the behaviour of the individuals, it can best be done by having the entire group participate in the decision to make the change " (18.149). As we have seen above, an individual derives his attitude from the standards or norms of the group to which he belongs. It is as a result of active participation in the group setting that the individual derives his attitudes. Consequently if the experiences which the individual has are contrary to the group norms then these experiences will not bring about a change in the attitude of the individual. On the other hand, if the group itself changes its norms, then it is easy for the individual to change his attitudes.

4. GROUP DISCUSSION AND GROUP DECISION

The great merit of the experimental work of Kurt Lewin is the design and the set-up in order to study this issue. During World War II, it was used to bring about a change in the food habits of people. Some varieties of food, though very nutritious, were not used by the Americans. Lewin conducted his experiments on six Red Cross groups of volunteers. Each group had from 13 to 17 individuals. " Lecture Method " was used for three groups and the " Discussion Method " was used for the other three groups. In both cases, the time was the same, that is, 45 minutes. In the lecture method the nutritional value of the unused foods was dilated upon. The volunteers were told how economical these foods were ; they were exhorted to use these foods so that they could save the usual meat-cuts for the war-effort. Cyclostyled copies of the recipes to prepare these unused foods were distributed. In the second set of groups, the discussion groups, the problem was introduced,

14

the participants were allowed to discuss how housewives could be induced to participate in a programme of change of foods to help in war-effort and to improve general health. The discussion turned to the several obstacles in the way of using these new foods and possible objections which the family may have. After this the nutrition expert provided the recipes. At the end of the period a group decision was requested by show of hands. Sometime later the subjects were checked in order to find out how many of them had included the new food items as part of their meals. It was found that while 3% of the lecture group included new items, 32% of the discussion group had acted in a similar way. Thus this experiment shows two significant facts. One is that the discussion method is far superior to the lecture method in inducing change in attitude and behaviour. Secondly, it shows clearly that it is not possible to change some individuals of a group by either of the techniques.

This experiment served as a model for other studies of attitude and behaviour change. One of the defects of the first experiment was that two different people were leaders in the two different groups. Consequently, in a second experiment, the same person was used as a leader of the lecture group as well as the discussion group. In this experiment, the subjects were housewives. In each session, there were 6 to 9 individuals in the group. Two check-ups were made, one after 2 weeks interval and another after 4 weeks interval. Again, it was found that the discussion group was decisively more responsive. It was also found that the change endured longer for the discussion group. Levine and Butler (18) confirmed these results in a study in an industrial plant. There were 29 supervisors in this factory. They tended to over-rate men in higher grade jobs and under-rate those in lower grade jobs. The problem was to alter their attitudes so that they did not have bias for or against the men whom they represented. The supervisors were divided into three groups, one group was exposed to the lecture technique. They were informed how to correct the errors in rating. The second group was made to discuss the problem and arrive at a group decision. While the third group served as a control group. It was found that the discussion group showed a marked improvement in comparison with other two groups.

It is clear from the above that active participation in a discussion group is much more effective to change attitude and behaviour than passive reception in a lecture group. When individuals actively participate they become personally involved in the issue. Further, group decision has a more binding influence on the individuals than any possible individual resolve. This as Sherif (2.547) points out, " the crucial step in attempting to bring about an effective change in attitude is getting the individual personally involved (ego-involved) in the issue at hand. Getting the individual personally involved means arousing related ego-attitudes. Such personal involvement is enhanced in the give-and-take process of social interaction ". Mere information or logical argument alone does not bring about a change in attitude because if the individual changes his attitude he may be breaking away from " the security of cherished group ties ".

As we have seen above, an individual derives his attitudes from the group norms even when an individual has to change his attitude. This implies that he is breaking away from the group norms in some way. This is not an easy thing to do. It is against socialization. On the other hand, when an individual discusses the problem in a group, then he can safely put forth his views in favour of change. When several individuals in the group point out the advantages in the change, then the group as a whole will change. When the group changes, the group norm is changed. This will influence and reinforce the change in the individual. Further, as we have already seen, the new group norm becomes the individual's autonomous norm. Consequently, as Sherif's experimental work has made it clear, the individual will behave in a new way whether he is with the group or alone. Later on, if the individual member deviates from the norm thus reached, he feels that he is violating his own values, because he is now incorporating these group values into his personality. Thus, " the individual's personal involment in the group decision leads, therefore, to effective change in attitude and behaviour " (2.548).

Kothurkar (19. 114-115) of Poona conducted an investigation to study the possibility of modifying caste attitudes among high school students. He made use of three methods (a) there was an orderly rational account of the historical background of the various castes and communities in India,

(b) an emotional appeal urging the group to consider the fine qualities of the various groups and what they have done to build up the country and (c) discussion technique. Kothurkar's hypothesis was that the group discussion technique would be more significant in bringing about a change in attitude than the rational or the emotional approach. But it was found that the greatest change arose as a result of emotional approach. However, the result was not statistically significant. Gardner Murphy (19.115) asserts that the emotional appeal may have been very significant because of the instructor's exhortations. On the other hand, Sherif asserts that these may be due to the cultural differences. He points out that in the communities where the socialization process emphasize the dependence on authority, the discussion technique may not be effective. He refers to the published reports that the German youth just after World War II revealed an expectation that some one should take the lead and prepare the way for the course of action (2.548). Kothurkar himself writes, " giving the results for what they are worth, I am, however, convinced about the validity of the main conclusions of my experiment that, so far as these boys were concerned, the emotional approach through an atmosphere of respect and reverence for other groups is a better method of modifying attitudes than either the factual or discussion method. Contrary to our original expectations and hypothesis, these young boys did not seem to be in a position to exploit fully the discussion technique, in bettering their social relationships. Does it indicate that our boys have got to be used to the democratic ways of discussion and at present prefer to be told what are the right attitudes rather than to be allowed to talk them out ? " (19.115).

It might be said that there is considerable truth in the assertions of both Kothurkar and Sherif. It is possible that the discussion technique may not always be superior to the other techniques, particularly where cultural differences are involved. But it must also be borne in mind that the discussion technique can become very influential in any group where it is fostered. Further, it must be realised that in the Poona study there was no significant difference between the results of the discussion technique and the emotional appeal technique. Probably the basic thing is ego-involvement. In this particular case, the emotional appeal may have been as

effective in bringing about ego-involvement as discussion technique.

Radicalism — Conservatism

We can now give some illustrations of the way in which attitude scales are prepared and what results have been obtained by using these scales. There is a general attitude towards the direction and rate of change in the social, economic ,and political institutions. This is indicated by the words ' racial ' and ' conservative '. In every society, there are people who are eager for a change in the social institutions. On the other hand, there are also people who do not want such changes to take place and ,who feel quite satisfied with the things as they are. Kirk (20) asserts that the conservatives have a belief that Providence rules society, they are attached to tradition, have belief in the inevitability of the class system in society, they link up private property and freedom. The 'radicals' are characterised by a belief in the equality of all men, that if the environment is changed, all men could become perfect, that there is no limit to the progress of society. These people have a contempt for tradition and believe in political levelling, as well as economic levelling. The ' reactionary ' prefers to restore the social institutions to their past state while the ' conservative ' is attached to the things as they are. But the ' liberal ' desires to modify the present in accordance with the needs of the times, while the ' radical ' desires to bring about drastic changes in the existing social order. In general it may be stated that the ' radical ' is not only favourable to the sweeping changes in social institutions, but is particularly opposed to class interests. The ' conservative ' has an unfavourable attitude towards the social changes and tends to uphold vested class interests.

1. HOW THE SCALE IS CONSTRUCTED

In 1957 Miss M. N. Kamala (21) made an attempt to construct an attitude scale to measure conservatism—radicalism among the people. She chose the problems of divorce, widow-marriage, land problem, private property, income distribution, problem of labour and problem of nationalisation. To prepare the scales for the problems of

divorce and widow-remarriage she used Thurstone's technique of equal appearing intervals. She collected about 200 statements on each problem. After editing, she reduced them to 98 statements on divorce and 96 statements on widow-remarriage. Care was taken to see that the statements represented the full range of possible opinions on the issue.

The next step was to prepare an attitude continuum with the following 7 points :

1) Reactionary,   2) Conservative,   3) Comformist
4) Moderate,   5) Liberal,   6) Progressive,   7) Radical.

Fifty-six judges among whom were 42 men and 14 women consisting of Teachers (18), Lawyers (10), Engineers (5), Doctors (10), Authors (3), Socio-Political Workers (10), were given this attitude continuum. These seven words were printed on separate cards. In order to see that there is a common basis for judgment for all the judges, the following brief description for each item was given :

1. *Reactionary* : One who struggles to reverse the course of social progress by restoring old and out-worn customs and institutions that are actually losing social approval.

2. *Conservative* : One who attaches a sacredness to tradition, tries to preserve the existing order of society and opposes all changes and progress.

3. *Conformist* : One who conforms in his thought and action to the traditions and conventions in the existing order of society.

4. *Moderate* : One who conforms to conventions usually but does not resist a few necessary changes, in minor matters, in the existing order of society.

5. *Liberal* : One who prefers a few modifications and changes in the prevailing social order that are not radical and opposed to the existing order.

6. *Progressive* : One who advocates a large number of gradual changes in the existing order of society and opposes a blind faith in conventions.

7. *Radical* : One who tries to uproot the existing order of society and struggles to supplant it by drastic and sweeping changes.

Ninety eight statements were typed on slips of paper and the judges were requested to sort the statements into the above seven categories. The task of the judges thus, was to determine what type of attitude each statement expresses. They had to sort all the statements into seven piles. The judges were requested to sort the statements according to the prevailing standards in the society and not according to their own opinion.

The number of times each opinion was allocated to each category was counted and the frequency distribution prepared. Next the cumulative frequencies and cumulative proportions were calculated and plotted on a graph. The scale value in each statement was obtained by noting the 50th percentile point. The ambiguity of each statement was measured by the interquartile deviation. To give an illustration, the item " one must not hesitate to break the bond of marriage, if necessary, even though the society objects ", was not assigned by any judge to the reactionary or conservative or conformist categories. A few assigned it to the Moderate, more to the Liberal, even more to Progressive and many more to Radical. It was found that 50th percentile for this statement was 6.0 (progressive) with a low quartile deviation of 0.31.

In order to find whether the age and experience of the rater has any influence in the evaluation of these intricate social problems, 48 students, 24 boys and 24 girls, studying in the M.A. and M.Sc. classes were requested to judge and evaluate the same 98 statements on the problem of divorce. The total scale values for all the statements of the adult rater was 321.7 with a mean of 3.28 and that of the student raters 320.8 with a mean of 3.27. Thus there is objectivity involved in the judgment of social problems unaffected by variables like age and experience.

With respect to the problems of land, private property, income, labour and nationalisation, Likert's method of summated rating was made use of in order to develop the scales. The following are some of the statements used :

1. Abolition of landlordism, personal and religious Inams, is a hasty measure.
2. The difference in salaries between the labourers and other professional people must be minimised.

3. That government should own all means of production is an extreme measure.
4. Labour Unions must not merely be tolerated but activity encouraged.

A group of 209 students using the method of random proportional sampling were given this scale. It was found that only less than 9% of students gave neutral answers. In other words, the group had definite opinions either favourable or unfavourable. It was found that the student group as a whole expressed a favourable attitude to economic change.

2. SOME RESULTS

Hunter (22) has included statements regarding the Negroes, labour, social issues, religion, democracy and national defence in his test on social attitudes. Nelson (23) tested 3780 students in various parts of United States and found that the senior students were the most liberal among the college students. He found that education has a liberalising tendency. Remmers and Weltman (24) tested the attitude of 207 pupils in Senior High Schools and also the attitude of their parents and teachers and found a strong positive relationship among the attitudes of the members of the family. They also found greater similarity in the attitudes between parents and children, than between teachers and pupils. Shepero (25) found a relationship between social attitudes and child rearing practices. He found that the radical parents were lenient and affectionate and gave more liberty to their children while the conservative parents were more disciplinarian and expected the children to be submissive. Adarno (26) constructed a scale of political-economic-conservatism to determine authoritarian personality. He found a high relationship between conservatism and ethno-centrism. Centers (27) found a relationship between social classes and social attitude. He found that the people of higher social status were more conservative while the people of lower social status were more liberal. Eysenck (25) prepared a 40 item scale to study social attitudes. He postulates that there are two dimensions (a) radicalism-conservatism, (b) tough mind (authoritarian) — tender mind (democratic) at right angles to each other.

He found that the middle class group were more tender minded and working-class group were more tough-minded irrespective of whether they belong to the conservative, the socialist or the communist party. He further found that the working-class people were more conservative than the middle class people.

ATTITUDES AND SENTIMENTS

Before concluding this chapter, it will be profitable to briefly discuss the relationship between the concept of attitude and the older concept of sentiment. Long ago, Shand (28) realised that there is an organization of knowledge, emotions and interests which endure in spite of the various changes in internal and external conditions. Later on, McDougall (29) looked upon the sentiment as an organized system of dispositions which endures in the personality. We have seen that attitudes also involve a certain readiness to react in a definite manner towards objects, groups and persons. What then is the relationship between the older concept of sentiment and the newer concept of attitude ? Asch distinguished between opinions, sentiments and attitudes (5.563). According to Asch, (a) opinions are the belief-action systems in an individual which have certain social consequences. An individual may vote consistently for the Congress Party although he may be only superficially interested in politics, as well as in the Congress Party ; (b) on the other hand there are deep seated cognitive and emotional dispositions which have a reference to complex and extended actions by an individual. Asch calls such dispositions, sentiments. He distinguishes between two kinds of sentiments — (i) there are sentiments with a predominantly personal reference, with very little social consequences ; for example, when an individual falls in love or when an individual develops a sentiment towards his fountain pen we have the illustrations of personal sentiments ; (ii) on the other hand, there are sentiments which are deeply personal as well as social, sentiments which we share with a large number of other people in the group. These dispositions refer to issues of general welfare, — social, economic and political. According to Asch this second kind of sentiment may be called the social attitudes. It is the prime concern of social psychology to study attitudes because they involve

central processes in the individual with important social consequences.

Thus opinions are peripheral from the standpoint of the individual. He is not greatly involved in them. But they have social consequences. However, these social consequences are also peripheral. On the other hand, attitudes are more personal than opinions. They also influence social action. That is why we find that prejudices involve attitudes. Opinions do not lead us to prejudices. As regards personal sentiments they involve the individual but they are not of much social significance. Our personal friendships and rivalries may involve a few individuals around us. But, on the other hand, when the personal hatred is transformed into the hatred of a minority, when the hostility of the majority is generated and directed by the individual towards the minority group, then we have the transition from a personal sentiment to social attitude which leads to social tensions. These problems will be discussed in the following chapters when we deal with the problems of Prejudice and Social Tensions.

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FORMATION AND CHANGE
OF PUBLIC OPINION

IT IS A FAMILIAR fact that on certain occasions public opinion becomes very strong. But it must be recognized that public opinion on the various issues will be there with greater or less intensity all the time. The presence of public opinion implies that there is some difference of opinion, that there is some discussion, about some issue. In other words, an individual becomes conscious of his opinion only when he finds that some one disagrees with him. Consequently as long as some opinion is generally accepted there is no discussion. It is only when somebody questions its validity that there is a discussion. This gives rise to defence and justification. Public opinion also arises when there is a desire to change what is generally accepted.

The meaning of the term " Public "

We have to arrive at some definite notion regarding the term public. To make this concept clear, we can state its relationship to another term, crowd. We use the term crowd when we are considering a number of human beings who are contiguous in space. We use the term public to signify the general body of persons belonging to a particular community whether it is a small group, or a national group, or people of the world as a whole. What we call the world opinion, gives the trend of the opinion of the people in the whole world. Thus the term public implies that there is a non-contiguous but psychological group. There is no face to face contact. It consists of people scattered in space. But these people react to the same stimulus. This further implies that there is some means of communication so that all the various people in different areas of a village, country, or the world as a whole, know about and react to what the other people are thinking about a particular issue. As we shall see later, in a crowd or audience or conference, the group is polarised and is under the

influence of a particular person at a particular time. On the other hand, the term public implies people in their homes, in their clubs, in the market place, who are reacting to a particular issue. They are in touch with each other through some means of communication either personal or through the newspaper or the radio. There is a feeling among all these people that they agree with certain opinion and disagree with a certain other opinion. Hence there is agreement, a sense of belonging and a sense of liking, though the other individuals may be unknown and in different places, at different distances. In order to bring about a certain sense of intimacy the individual or the newspaper will carry a story about the leaders who are engaged in the controversy. This helps to promote a sense of identification with the particular individuals and the formation of the group feeling, the ' we-they ' feeling. The public becomes more effective if there ·is a group, party, union, association or some such institutionalised group. So the public is a more or less organised association of persons who are having an opinion on some general issue. Consequently the issue is something which concerns the community as a whole, a problem which affects most, if not all, the members of a community.

The meaning of the term " Opinion "

The term opinion implies a belief. There are different kinds of beliefs. Some are accepted without question because of the authority of the source which gives us the belief. Some beliefs are held on the basis of proof. This is knowledge. We are not here dealing with either of these kinds of beliefs. Our concern here is with beliefs which are about a controversial topic, which admits of different kinds of beliefs on the same issue. Thus, opinions are beliefs about a controversial topic. We may also contrast opinion with sentiment. Sentiments are emotional dispositions related to objects or situations which are not subject to controversy. So sentiments differ from opinion in that they are emotional dispositions and they involve situations without controversy, whereas opinions involve beliefs with respect to a controversial issue. We may also distinguish between opinion and attitude. While an attitude is a

tendency to act, opinion is something verbal and symbolic in a particular way. Public opinion helps us to assess the attitude of a large group towards some particular issue. The stand of an individual on a public issue may be favourable or unfavourable to it. This is where there is similarity between opinion and attitude. Thus an opinion is a verbal response which indicates the attitude of an individual towards a controversial issue.

What is public opinion ?

Thus public opinion consists of opinions held by people of a smaller or a larger community about a particular problem at a certain time. This is why the public opinion may change from time to time. In a broad way we may say that the public opinion in the countries of Asia was against colonialism by the Western Nations and in favour of self-determination. In the more recent years we are finding a change in public opinion in many Asian countries from faith in democracy to a faith in dictatorship.

We may also distinguish public opinion from the mores, the generally accepted customs. They are regulators of social behaviour, consequently they are social norms. It is the right way, the prescribed way, of doing things. On the other hand public opinion is an opinion about a controversial issue. It is possible that the generally accepted regulative mores may be questioned. Then it becomes an issue for public opinion. There may be a conflict of value. Similarly even the constitutionally established law may become a matter of controversy. For example, according to the state, capital punishment may be legal, but in a group there may be a controversy about this law and this may lead to a change, so that the law may be changed. Thus there is public opinion only when there is a controversy. It is in this limited way that social psychology deals with this problem of public opinion.

Public opinion as a process

As we have seen above, public opinion is not something which is static. Further, it is something which involves a controversial issue. Consequently there will be continu-

ous change in the issues and also continuous change in the opinion of the group as a whole with respect to the controversy. In a democracy it is assumed that all the responsible citizens have a part to play in formulating the answers to public issues. In other words democracy assumes that it is the right, as well as the duty, of people to discuss the issues which affect the welfare of the community. On the basis of this discussion outside the legislature as well as inside the legislature some consensus may arise which will become the basis for public action. This implies that the opinion which is held by the majority of the people will become a basis for laying down the programmes of action in a democracy. Thus in any democracy there will be a minority who may differ from the views of the majority. But this minority has to abide by the decisions of the majority. However, it is open for this minority to change the public opinion so that when a large number of people accept the other view, then what was a mere minority opinion may become the opinion of the majority and consequently the basis for the programme of action. Thus, public opinion is a process which is continually changing both because the issues of controversy may change from time to time and because the prevailing opinion regarding particular issues may also change from time to time. To take an illustration : Prohibition of intoxicating drinks is based upon the general opinion among the Indians that intoxicating drinks are harmful to the individual as well as to the society. This was only at the level of the mores. As a result of the strength of the opinion, the legislatures in the different states passed laws making the sale and use of intoxicating drinks into an offence. Today this problem of prohibition has become a matter for controversy in all the states of India. It is possible that this controversy may lead either to the reinforcement of the law or to the abolition of the law depending upon the forces which are operating in transforming public opinion.

Basic steps in opinion formation

The first stage in the process of opinion formation is the definition of the issue. Some problem is identified by certain individuals or groups as demanding solution.

These people will define the problem. We may take as an ·example the problem of prohibition. In the 1920s and 1930s Mahatma Gandhi and the various Congress leaders looked upon the problem of alcoholic drinks as an imme- ·diate problem to be solved, particularly Mahatma Gandhi looked upon the excise revenue as tainted revenue. In this way an individual or group of individuals who are interested in a particular social problem will define the issue and speak about it in order to draw the attention of the public to this matter. Thus the first stage may be ·characterised as the stage of preliminary definition.

In the next stage there will be exploration. Several people, as individuals and as groups, will start thinking about this problem. They will consider to what extent the problem is a serious problem. They may discuss whether the time is ripe to take some action about this problem. There may be doubts whether the problem is ·capable of solution.

So at this stage attempts will be made to study the issue, ·discover the facts and think of possible solutions. There may be meetings where these problems will be discussed. The proceedings of these meetings may be reported in the newspapers. There may be editorials in the newspapers upon this issue.

This leads to the third stage in the opinion formation process. When the problem is being discussed and facts are being collected, there will be alternative solutions. Conse- ·quently different groups will get themselves interested in the problem. Some will support the original group which started the issue, while others may show that the solution is not a satisfactory solution. This is the stage of conflict. Emotions may be heightened. There may even be a good ·deal of crowd-like behaviour. Slogans may be used in favour of or against a particular solution to the problem. The opposite parties will also study and collect the facts which go against the solution. To take an illustration : in 1955 and 1956 the Health Ministry of the Government of India intensified the campaign with respect to B. C. G. vaccine and mass vaccinations were done. The Health Minister of Madras took a very keen interest in this matter. This lead to an opposition by C. Rajagopalachari. Some medical men in Madras State and elsewhere supported the

stand taken by C. R.   Facts as well as opinions were quoted by both sides. A significant feature of this stage of conflict is that both rational as well as emotional considerations will prevail.

Out of all these conversations, speeches, debates and propaganda, most of the people will arrive at a decision in favour of one stand.   Thus there will be a consensus of opinion.   But this does not mean that all people have the same opinion.   It is possible that there may be voting on the issue either within the legislature or outside.   At no time will there be complete agreement on any issue where public opinion is involved.   There may be only shifts.   The opinion held by the minority may become the majority opinion or on the contrary, the opinion held by the majority may be given up and this may become the minority opinion.   To take a further illustration, in 1958 the minority opinion in favour of dictatorship in some of the Asian countries gained strength and lead to the establishment of dictatorships because the public opinion was in favour of the military people taking over the power from the civilian authorities.

Rational and irrational aspects

The older view regarding public opinion was that it was more or less a rational group judgment.   It was believed that people will think about issues and come to logical conclusions on the basis of the facts that are available and thus public opinion will always be in favour of what is true and what is good.   On the other hand since the days of the French Revolution there has been an opposing view that man is predominantly irrational and emotional.   So it was believed that public opinion largely depends upon the intrigues of the leaders.   What is untrue or what is bad may be made the basis for altering public opinion.   It was also considered that masses of people are essentially irrational and emotional and they are incapable of arriving at any objective solutions about problems. It was presumed that rationality is something which is limited to the select few.

As we have seen man's thought as well as behaviour is based upon biological needs on the one hand and the early

socio-cultural conditioning on the other. Broadly opinions are dependent upon and are determined by such deep-seated needs. Consequently opinions are not wholly based upon rational grounds ; but this is not to say that rational grounds do not form the basis for opinions. We find that opinion is based on both rational and emotional, logical and sentimental grounds. That is why an appeal to the tradition, to religion, to ideals of democracy, righteousness etc., all such appeals, will have very great value in altering public opinion. Further reason may be used to reinforce prejudice. Certain aspects of the problem may be placed before the individuals and they may arrive at conclusions without finding out whether there are other facts. This is because when a man is forming an opinion he is influenced by the biological needs on the one hand and the socio-cultural conditioning on the other. To take another illustration while the higher caste Hindus in the city have accepted that the Harijan has the same civic rights as any other citizen, the higher caste Hindus in the village are influenced more by the biological needs and the early socio-cultural conditions. So the public opinion in the villages has not been changed and consequently the treatment of Harijans is different in the villages. There is a similar situation in the treatment of the Negro in the United States. While the Negro is treated as an inferior citizen in the Southern States of U.S.A., the White people in the Northern States accept the Negro as a citizen with equal rights. This conflict between the Southern States and the Northern States regarding this issue of the treatment of the Negro is continuing for over a century. Thus the issues on which public opinion is formed are not issues which are capable of scientific and logical methods of decision. Such problems affect the welfare of humanity on the one hand and the traditions of the group on the other. Consequently emotions, prejudices and predilections play a very important part. This is the reason why, as we shall learn in a succeeding chapter, when public opinion is being formed or is being changed, the conflict between groups may become so high that there may be actual mob behaviour and there may be murder, arson, loot and such other illegal activities. To take another illustration we find that when the issue of formation of linguistic states in India

was being discussed in 1955 and 1956 there were several instances of mob behaviour in different states. Thus in the formation of public opinion both rational and irrational considerations prevail.

Motivation in opinion formation

Motivation plays a very important part in opinion formation. Certain new proposals put up by certain individuals or groups of people will affect individuals either favourably or unfavourably. Generally the urge to form a new opinion arises when an individual feels frustrated because his habitual modes of reaction are not sufficient to meet the demands of the situation. So the individual feels that a new type of reaction will enable the group to meet the situation and solve the social problem in a more satisfactory way. Take, for example, the problem of land reforms in India and the formation of public opinion with respect to this problem particularly in the years from 1955—1959. Because there are millions of landless labourers in India, the Communist Party in some districts of the present Andhra Pradesh tried to get a hold on the masses; they helped the landless labourers to form the opinion that the land really belongs to the tiller of the soil and not to the owner. Large numbers of landless labourers accepted this and acted upon it because this is in line with their needs. They were feeling that the owner of the land was getting benefit without working, while they, with all their work, were enduring poverty and suffering. Thus strong motives are involved in the formation of public opinion. If such motives do not come into operation then there will not be any public opinion on that problem at all. We may also point out that whether individuals take one side or the other also depends upon their motives. The man with a large landed property will feel hostile to the party which wants to bring about land reforms. But, the landless labourer as well as the other people without lands will be favourable to land reforms. So the opinion formation depends not only on ideals of economic and social justice but also upon our personal condition, whether we own or do not own land. To take another illustration, when estate duty tax, wealth tax and such other taxes were introduced, practically the whole country

was in favour, because these measures of taxation affected only the small but wealthy segment of the population. So public opinion depends upon the motives which are operating in the large masses of people.

Leadership and public opinion

Leaders play a very important part in the formation of public opinion. They help in defining an issue. There may be some frustrations or some longings in the masses of people. It is the leader who verbalises and crystalises these vague but strong feelings. For example when Balgangadhar Tilak exclaimed, " Swaraj is my birth right ", the entire population of the country, particularly the educated groups found here a verbalisation of their strong feelings against British supremacy in India. Public opinion in favour of self-government became very strong in the country with this enunciation of Tilak. The agitator plays a very important part in shaping public opinion when there are strong feelings among the majority in a group of people or in a country. The leader may also make use of the platform and the press in order to rouse the people. Generally the leader simplifies an issue. Every problem is complicated and when an expert tries to study the issue he will have to devote several months of serious study before he is able to understand the issue. But public opinion cannot wait for a detailed study of the problem. For example, it is easy to assert that the educational system existing at a given time is unsuitable. Platform speakers can give a number of reasons and illustrations to show that the educational system at the given time is unsuited. These will rouse public opinion in favour of a change. But when a change has to be introduced, unless a detailed examination is made of the structure of the educational system at the given time, and the needs of the society at the given time, and forecasts made about the possible changes which may meet the needs, it is very difficult to take action. It is always easy when a country is undergoing revolutionary changes to bring a charge that the educational system is not meeting the demands of the time. But, when people are quite satisfied with the things as they are it is difficult for an agitator or reformer to introduce dissatisfaction among the people

about the things as they are. For example, when Gandhi tried to formulate his principles of ' basic education ' there was little response at that time (1936). Thus the leader has to study the general feelings of the people, if he has to mobilise public opinion along certain lines. Secondly he has to simplify the issue so that everybody understands that it is an obvious problem. " One common form of simplification occurs when only part of a stimulus is perceived and the rest is disregarded. Such a partial response ensues, because the individual is incapable of making a complete response or because a prior drive prevents him from perceiving the remainder of the stimulus " (1.81). Simplification of a problem consists in selective perception. It also depends upon the prevailing demands and frustrations. As Cantril remarks, "Verbal statements and outlines of courses of action have maximum importance when opinion is unstructured when people are suggestible and seek some interpretation from a reliable source " (2.226). When the Department of Public Health conducts a propaganda about the health problems there will not be any public opinion. The large majority of the people will be indifferent to what the Health authorities speak. But, when an epidemic breaks out people will become agitated ; public opinion will be roused and Health authorities will be consulted and there will be full co-operation with them. Thus, when public opinion is to be formed, mere leadership by itself is not enough. Leadership will have some significance only when there are certain longings among the people. The leader cannot create such a situation. He can only manipulate it when it exists. Another point we have to bear in mind is that in mobilising the public opinion, the leader may be able to define the issue to his own group. If he lays down a particular programme of action in very clear-cut terms, it will have a value not among the public as a whole, but among the members of his group. If the leader's programme has to appeal to the group as a whole, then it must be fairly unstructured so that suggestions and interpretation can play their full part.

Gauging public opinion

In a broad way we can classify the methods used in the

study of public opinion as qualitative and quantitative.

There is the historical method of studying changes in public opinion. Using this method we can trace the way in which public opinion has changed through a number of years. For example public opinion in India about the British, hardly existed when in 1757 Robert Clive won the battle of Plassey. It is only when the British power increased in several parts of the country and when the Muslim rulers, the Hindu rulers and the French and the Dutch and other European Colonists were defeated by the British, that public opinion became strong which resulted in the Indian War of Independence in 1857. The crushing defeat of the Indian armies, led to an absence of action throughout the country. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 the leaders were content with requesting the British authorities to relieve the suffering of the Indians in this or that sphere. In other words, the public opinion was not against the British rule. It was only when leaders like Tilak and Gandhi started their work, not only among the educated classes in India, but also among masses in the cities as well as in the villages, that public opinion changed and reached its peak in 1942 with the Quit India Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. Thus using the historical method it is possible to study changes in public opinion in any group of people. Similarly, we can make a study of public opinion regarding Harijan uplift in India by studying the changes not only in legislation but also the changes in education and social service for the Harijans. In the same way we can make a study of the changes in the opinion of the Indians regarding the women's position in society by studying the history of the Women's Movement and the various organizations connected with the women and also by studying the social legislation in the last few years affecting the legal status of the women. By studying the number of women who have been appointed for various jobs at different levels of work and the variety of jobs to which women are being appointed, we can understand the changes in public opinion regarding the status of women and the role of women in social, economic and public life.

Another qualitative method of studying opinion is by case study. By interviewing a few persons in a group we can find out something about the changes in public opinion

in that group.   As an illustration we may refer to Lasker's
study of race attitudes in children (3).   An attempt was made
to study the alterations in a white person's opinions about
Negroes.   Lasker found that one individual stated that he
recalled the way in which he was taught to hate the Negro
during his childhood, where the Negroes were painted as
fiends who would attack and kill him.   The individual re-
called how the parents instilled these attitudes in him.   He
asserted that when he became older and read about the pro-
blems, his attitude towards the Negro changed.   He dis-
covered that the whole purpose of a Negro was not to go
about killing people.   But even then the dislike for the
Negro continued.   In a similar way studies could be made
in India among individuals to study the changes in public
opinion with respect to the problem of Harijans or the
changes in the attitude of the Hindu towards the Muslim
or of the Muslim towards the Hindu.

While both these qualitative methods are very useful they
have their own limitations.   They do not give us an objec-
tive picture of the public opinion.   In order to attain better
ways of studying public opinion quantitative methods have
developed in the recent years.

Quasi-experimental method

Attempts have been made to study the influence of editorials
in a paper on the opinion of a group of people.   We may
here refer to an old study by Meier (4).   A daily student
newspaper at the University of Iowa was made use of by
having carefully prepared editorials about a former Prime
Minister of Australia of whom none of the 203 students
who acted as subjects knew anything.   It was alleged that
this Prime Minister was on a lecture tour and editorials
were written upon him for two months.   One group of
students read only the favourable editorials, whereas the
other group read only the unfavourable.   At the end of
two weeks certain tests were given and it was found that
98% of the students who read the favourable editorials
became favourably biased while 86% of those who read
the unfavourable editorials became adversely disposed to-
wards that Prime Minister.   The second test was given four
months later and it revealed the same views among the res-

pective groups of subjects regarding that person.   It was
further found that seven editorials were as effective in
bringing bias one way or the other as the full 15 editorials
in two months. Thus this study showed that the opinions of
individuals on personalities and issues are influenced by
the editorials in newspapers. Of course, it must be realised
that in this particular experiment the individual about
whom editorials were written was a person of no conse-
quence to the people who read the editorials.   It was about
an ex-Prime Minister of Australia, while the subjects were
American students.   It must also be remembered that in
concrete life people are influenced not only by the editorials
but also by several other experiences concerning the indi-
vidual or issue. But, it is no doubt true, that when people
are dissatisfied, they will read more and more of abusive
writings against a leading person or party.   Reference may
be made to some of the newspapers in India which indulge
in attacking individuals as well as parties and their popu-
larity. Similar studies have been made using films in order
to study the changes in opinions and attitudes of people
regarding their opinions on some issues.   Documentary
films have been produced by the Central Government to
influence the opinion of people regarding Community Pro-
jects, National Extension Schemes, over-crowding in the
railways, health problems and so on.   There is no doubt
that films like these influence opinion of people and later
on their behaviour.

Analysis of letters to editors, legislators etc.

One of the ways in which we can understand public opinion
is by going through columns of letters to editors in the
daily newspapers and in magazines. These letters give us
an idea of the way in which people think about certain
issues. Often times there may be a series of letters for and
against a certain proposal in newspapers. Similarly letters
as well as telegrams may be sent to legislators, and cabinet
members expressing the opinion of people regarding cer-
tain issues. But the danger here is that very few people
write such letters. In a classroom of 50 students it was found
that only three people had ever written letters to newspa-
pers. It was further elucidated that these three people were

deeply moved by a certain issue and so they wrote their letters to the newspapers. This is probably typical of the persons who write letters. They may feel deeply shocked or deeply indignant by certain events and so they may express their opinion. But, a large majority of the people either may have no opinion or may not care to express their opinion. Often people will comment on the issues of the day in their conversations. Some may be quite enthusiastic or quite indignant but hardly any of these people will write letters to the editor. So merely on the basis of the letters to the editor it is not possible to get an objective view of the public opinion of a group regarding an issue. Reference may be made to the study by Wynant and Herzog (5). They analysed 13,000 letters received by 14 senators of United States regarding the selective service bill in 1940. According to gallup poll the majority of the American citizens favoured conscription just before the Americans entered the Second Great War. On the other hand 90% of these letters opposed the bill. It was found that the bulk of the letters were from towns and cities. Also letters were addressed to those senators, who agreed with their personal views. In other words men write letters to support the legislators who held similar views. This may give an " illusion of universality " to the legislator that all people are thinking in the same way as he does, because all his letters show that. It was also found that about 30% of the letters were " inspired " by some one organization. Consequently, letters to legislators or cabinet ministers may not reveal what the people think particularly when letters which a legislator gets are in agreement with his own personal opinion. He should be very careful in making use of these letters as an indication of the public opinion.

Polling method

In the recent years a new technique has been developed in order to study public opinion. In the early years of this century some newspapers in England as well as in U.S. distributed ballot papers along with their newspapers and requested their readers to send their opinion about certain important issues facing the country. The opinions when analysed on the basis of the returns, had errors from 12 to

20 per cent. This technique developed into what is called the 'market research'. The manufacturers tried to get opinions of people about their products and their competitors' products, so that they can make alterations in their processes in order to capture a bigger market. There were several studies regarding consumers' preferences. Similarly studies were also made by the Radio Broadcasting Companies in the United States in order to find out listeners' preferences so that they can put up better programmes on the air. In the 1930s what were called the mass observation techniques were developed in England, whereby interviewers met people and heard their actual conversations at various places and noted down the trends in public opinion.

These efforts by different organizations led to organized methods of gauging public opinion and also to scientific study of the methods involved.

During the 1930s several organizations were started in United States, Great Britain and other countries, to study public opinion by means of the polling method. Significant studies were made regarding the prospect of Presidential elections and about opinions of Americans regarding the Second Great War. In the 1936 Presidential elections, few months before the elections, the Institute of Opinion Studies made surveys in U.S. to forecast who would win. Interviewers were appointed to meet people and put direct questions about their preferences. On the basis of these results of interviews, predictions were made. It was found that there was considerable error in these predictions. Analysis was made of these results in order to study the reasons which brought the error. There were errors in the sample, in the technique of interview, in the formulation of questions, in the treatment of the data and so on. Defects in samples arise when a representative sample of the population is not interviewed. For example, in India when opinion surveys are made and only people of cities are interviewed, obviously there will be errors in forecasting the elections because elections depend not only on the voters in the cities, but also on the larger number of voters in rural areas. So, in the recent years, a very careful attempt is made to get a sample that is really representative of the population as a whole. The problem of sample may be explained with a familiar illustration. When the mother

at home wants to find out whether the pot of rice on the oven is cooked, she takes a big spoon and stirs up the whole pot of rice, and then takes a few grains of rice in the spoon and touches one or two of them, to find out if the rice is cooked. She makes correct inferences by judging two grains of rice in the whole pot of rice. Similarly the merchant when he wants to find out whether the bag of grains brought to the shop for sale is satisfactory, he does not open out the whole bag. He just thrusts a needle with a hollow, here and there in the bag, collects samples and makes judgment about the bag as a whole. This method is now being introduced in the study of public opinion. Population has certain variables like, for example, sex, age, education, area of living, rural or urban, occupation, income, wealth, and such other factors. In India we have to add to these religion and caste which are very important variables. It is only when our sample is truly representative of the proportions of these variables that our results will be close to the actual behaviour as, for example, in the elections.

Errors may also arise in the formulation of questions. It is not an easy thing to frame a question, so that it is understood by all people in the same way. Techniques have been developed in order to make the questions satisfactory. Several pre-testings have to be done and the question will have to be modified several times before the final set of questions which are satisfactory can be put together. The order of the questions may also be a significant factor. Cantril (2.28) found that on September 1st, 1939 in a national sample the following two questions were asked :

1. Should the United States permit its citizens to join the French and British Armies ?
2. Should the United States permit its citizens to join the German Army ?

It was found that when the questions were put in the above order 45% of the sample replied affirmatively to the first and 31% to the second question. On the other hand, when the questions were put in the reverse order 22% were in favour of German army and 40% in favour of the French and British armies. It was found that when the respondents endorsed in favour of enlistment in the armies of the Allies

they felt obliged to give the same privilege to those who wanted to join the German army. But when the question regarding German army was put first, fewer people were willing to grant those rights to American citizens. It is however, clear that whatever the order of the questions may be, the Americans were favourable toward the allies and unfavourable toward Germany.

It is not necessary for us to go into further details about these problems. It is sufficient to indicate that there was a considerable decrease in error when predictions were made in 1940 about the Presidential elections. The error was reduced to just three to six per cent. Thus, a scientific study of this method of polling has considerably increased its predictive value about the future behaviour of people. This has shown the value of public opinion surveys.

We may now give some illustrations of the work using these techniques in India. The present writer conducted an investigation in the Madras State to find out the opinion of students regarding some social, economic and other problems (6). 591 students in different parts of the Madras State were asked.... "Do you find the caste system to be satisfactory, tolerable, intolerable?" 11% of the students asserted that it was satisfactory, while 32.2% said it was tolerable, and 55.8% said it was intolerable, 1% did not give any response. When a breakdown was made according to castes, it was found that 42% of the Brahmins, 64.8% of the Non-Brahmins asserted that caste system was intolerable. When the breakdown was made in terms of the language of the students, it was found that 48.3% of the Telugu students, 51.2% of the Tamil students, 61.5% of the Kannada students and 70.8% of the Malayalam students asserted that caste system was intolerable.

Questions were also asked regarding the problem of the formation of linguistic States in India which was hotly discussed at that time (1951). It was found that of 591 students studied only 36.4% declared that they were in favour of the formation of linguistic states while 61.2% declared that they were not in favour. In other words the group as a whole was not in favour of the formation of linguistic states. But when a breakdown was made in terms of the language of the respondents, it was found that the Telugu group was most keen on the formation of the

linguistic states. 36.6% of the Telugu students wanted that linguistic states should be founded immediately as against 19.3% of the total group. Only 33.9% were against the formation of linguistic states as against 56.1% of the group as a whole (7). It is now well-known that the Andhra State was the first linguistic state to be formed in India in 1953. Thus, opinion surveys give us an indication of the trends of opinion among the people.

In 1953, the author conducted an investigation to study the opinion of the people in the Mysore City regarding the Hindu Code Bill which was at that time before the Parliament (8). Altogether 1303 people were tested of whom 530 were women, 733 were men. The people tested ranged all the way from labourers (218) to teachers (169), lawyers (49) and doctors (35). 459 students and 844 non-students gave their opinion. It was found that 84.36% were in favour of monogamy. It was further found that Harijans were more strongly against polygamy and the farming caste were the least strongly against it. It was found that 7.58% Harijans and 29.89% of the Vokkaligas, were in favour of polygamy as against 15.48% of the whole Hindu group. It was also found that there was no difference between the opinion of students (82.03%), and that of the non-students (85.30%). Finally it was found that education was not a factor which affects opinion regarding monogamy. 88.15% of the illiterate women and 74.69% of illiterate men were in favour of monogamy, in contrast to 91.80% of the college educated women and 85.3% of college educated men. It was also found that, age does not affect the opinion regarding monogamy. 83.34% of those below 20 years and 84.77% of those above 40 years were in favour of monogamy.

Constancy and reliability of public opinion surveys

Several methods are used in order to increase the reliability of public opinion surveys. Pollsters as well as those engaged in the survey of public opinion try to make their questions clear, unbiased and brief. In cases where multiple choice answers are given these are also made clear and brief. In these ways attempts are made to eliminate errors and increase reliability of results.

There is the problem of constancy : will the results remain constant if there are certain changes in the measuring instrument ? As we have already seen the order of questions, the kind of responses provided, the wording of the questions and such other conditions may affect the results. Slight changes in the measuring instrument itself may bring about different attitudes and consequently results may not be constant. This implies that in every study of public opinion there must be very careful pre-test.

There is next the problem of reliability. Will the questions yield similar results when they are given for a second time to the same group or when they are given to a similar group. Here again we find that by making the questions as well as the alternative response provided, clear, unbiased and brief, attempts are made to increase reliability of the responses. It must be realised that there is a big difference between the way in which questions are framed in a survey and in ordinary daily life. In ordinary life the questions are apt to be fuzzy, prejudiced, ambiguous and great in length. Similarly the answers will also be ambiguous and not very clear cut. Thus deliberately the person who is conducting the survey takes precautions to see that the instrument that he uses gives him reliable results. It has been found that simple questions in market research give uniformly high reliability. Jenkins (9) found that when the consumers were asked the same question : " What brand of..........did you buy last ? ", on two occasions with an interval of 2 days, 97% gave the same brand of beer and 93% the same brand of tomato juice, the lowest percentage were for hand lotion (87%) and car tyres (85%). Cantril (2.100) quotes Mosteller that 79% of a small sample in the early 40s gave identical replies when they were asked whether Roosevelt was doing a good, a fair or a bad job in running the country. Thus the reliability of the responses to the questions in a public opinion survey are quite high when they pertain to concrete objects and concrete acts but a little less when they refer to opinions about public issues. It must be remembered that the reliability of the answers also depend upon the polling conditions. It is possible that some change in public events may bring about a change in the responses. To quote an instance, when the Congress Organization framed its social policy by using the

term " Socialistic Pattern of Society ", the country as a whole became more favourable to the issue of nationalization. Similarly, because some rich men who were managing Insurance Companies were reported to have misused the funds, the public opinion in favour of nationalization of life insurance became great. On the other hand, certain allegations about what is now known as " Mundhra Deal " led to a certain unfavourable attitude towards the problem of nationalization. Thus whether the same opinion will be obtained when the surveys are repeated depends upon whether the conditions in the group which is studied are the same. Apart from all these problems it must be realised that the results that are obtained by a survey of the public opinion are very useful to learn something about the way in which people are thinking.

1. THE VALIDITY OF PUBLIC OPINION STUDIES

There is next the problem of the relationship between the responses obtained in a public opinion survey and actual behaviour. This is the problem of validity. We have to find out whether the results obtained correspond to some outside criterion. This involves " one of the most complex problems in human behaviour, the relation between words and deeds " (1.146). In one particular field there is considerable evidence to show that there is very great validity. In U.S. as well as in other countries, as far as forecast of elections are concerned, the discrepancies between the pollsters' predictions, and the election results, have been within the sampling error. Cantril has demonstrated that with even as small a sample as 200 interviews it is possible to predict within 5% error in New York Governor's election (2). Of course such samples involve very careful matching with the attributes of the population as a whole.

The author's studies have shown that there is considerable validity of public opinion surveys. For example, in the study on the reorganization of the states on the language basis, it was found that the Andhra students were very keen on not only the formation of the Andhra State, but also that it should be " immediately " formed. This study was made in 1951 and by 1953 the Andhra State was formed. This shows that even studies of public opinion among college students helps in understanding the feelings

of the people. Another illustration may be given. In the study on opinion regarding marriage, it was found that the sample study in one particular city indicated that an overwhelming majority of the people were in favour of monogamy. This study was made in 1953 and in 1956 the Indian Parliament passed the Hindu Marriage Act incorporating monogamy. " One of the most dramatic tests on validity of recent times was that of the prediction from attitude studies in the armed force before the end of World War II that 8% of the veterans would avail themselves of the G.I. Bill of Rights. Actually 8.1% presented themselves for admission to institutions for further education " (10.139).

It must however be realised that this problem of validity of public opinion is not a simple issue. Cantril, for instance, has shown that some times as many as 14% refused the request of the interviewers. There is this reticence on the part of the people not to express their opinions. However, this depends upon the nature of the issue that is being studied. If the public issue that is studied is one, that is agitating the minds of the large majority of the people, and which affects their lives, then it may be presumed that a smaller proportion will be unwilling to express their opinions. There is also the problem that the questions may raise issues to which the given respondent may ·not have given any thought whatever. Under such conditions there is no point in proceeding after the first exploratory question draws a negative response. These are some of the ways in which it is possible to reduce errors and avoid opinions which are not based on actual thinking about the issue on the part of the respondent. This, however, implies that the interviewers who are engaged in these studies must make a number of check studies to eliminate such errors.

2. THE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF POLLS

Before concluding this section we may, in passing refer to the practical importance of polls. As we have seen above, the commercial organizations have made use of the market research techniques. To be acquainted with the needs of the people and to anticipate the reasons for changes in the demands of the consumers is very useful in finalising programmes for manufacture. In order to get the words which

will appeal to the public so that they could be used in advertisement, competitions are conducted to find out the popular ways in which people think of the attributes of a given product. A reference to some competitions in newspapers will reveal the way in which this technique has been made use of by the industrial, commercial and advertising agencies.

Governments have also shown a great deal of interest in polling techniques. During the last war the bureaucracies of Germany and Japan tried to obtain public opinion in order to find out " the extent to which officials had been successful in 'leading the public' " (11). In Great Britain, as well as the United States, the governments have used polls to understand the desires of the people, so that they could formulate the policies. They have also used polls to discover the general or specific reactions to the programmes launched by the government. " When food and other consumer commodities were rationed in Great Britain and the U.S. after the outbreak of war, polls were employed to discover the needs of the people and their reactions to various restrictions and regulations. In the U.S. the Treasury Department borrowed the polling organization of the Department of Agriculture to carry on fundamental research in connection with its various drives to sell war bonds..." (1.160).

3. THE MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

An understanding of the formation and change of public opinion today requires an understanding of the communication media. In modern society there are different media being used in order to influence public opinion. Among the various kinds of media of communication we may take up the newspaper, the radio, and motion picture, because these are the three which reach millions of human beings in any country and in the world as a whole. Every day even in small towns, hundreds of copies of different newspapers in different languages are sold. Similarly every day, in all the hours of the day, the radio will be relaying news, as well as items of amusement, from the different radio stations, not only in India, but in the other countries of the world. As for cinema we have pictures made in India, as well as in other countries of the world, being shown not

16

only in the several theatres of the cities and towns but even by the 'touring talkies' in the villages.   These media of mass communication circulate news about events almost within a few minutes or within a few hours, throughout the length and breadth of the world either by way of the radio, or the newspaper, or the cinema newsreels.   Thus time as well as space have been annihilated by the modern inventions to communicate news about the events happening in all parts of the world.

The chief difference between the modern urban society and the modern rural society as well as the older societies consists of the media of opinion formation.   In the primary group organizations the chief media of opinion formation were the conversations between the people. News, as well as rumours, were communicated from person to person, in the older societies, as well as in the rural areas even today. With industrialisation, urbanisation, centralisation of government, the mass media of communication become very important.   With the process of printing, telegraph, telephone, the radio, tele-printers etc., the media of communication have become very complex.   Thus with the development of mass society there is also the development of mass media of communication.

4. NEWSPAPER

Newspapers of the modern kind, particularly the dailies, are of very recent origin. The first successful daily was established in London in 1702 and it is only during the first quarter of the 19th century that in Europe and America daily newspapers of the modern kind were started. Even in the beginning of the 19th century most of the papers were mere journals of opinion.   They printed some news in order to attract readers for their opinions.   Most of the papers of those days made money by printing scandals about other people or by withholding them for a price.

The modern newspaper is distinctly a product of the industrial revolution.   Many changes came about in the society because of industrial revolution, particularly in England.   The industrial revolution led, on the one hand, to the development of inventions which facilitated mass communication, and on the other hand, the business enterprises wanted media to advertise their goods.   " It was in

fact the advent of advertising that made newspapers honest, reasonable and respectable for this commercial firm required a large circulation which was achieved through the relatively unbiased report of events " (1.425). Another factor responsible for the growth of modern newspapers is the rise of democratic nationalism, and the spread of literacy among the masses. Large numbers of people began to be educated in the 19th century in Western Europe and in U. S. They became interested in the problems affecting democracy. They wanted to know something regarding the elections and the proceedings in the Parliament.

In India the daily newspapers were able to establish themselves because of the democratic movement and interest in public movements.

In India as on 31st Dec. 1957, 5,932 newspapers and magazines were being published. There were 446 dailies, 1,589 weeklies, 517 fortnightlies and 2,351 monthlies. 20% of them were in English, 19% in Hindi, 8.7% in Urdu and the rest were below 8%. As regards circulation, the figures are 31.49 lakhs for dailies, 30.52 lakhs for weeklies and 31.62 lakhs for monthlies, constituting 83% of the total (19.176).

One of the outstanding trends of the modern Press in India, as well as in other countries, is the increase in the concentration of power in a few groups of individuals who control the contents of the papers. With the increase in the circulation of the papers the cost of publication and the capital required increase. This leads to a small group who will purchase other papers, or start simultaneous issue of the paper in different parts of the country. For example, the " Times of India " group prints several newspapers in different parts of the country. They also bring out several magazines. Similarly the ' Indian Express ' group of newspapers are not only printed in different parts of the country but they are also printed in different languages. It is reported that between 1918—1944 while the total circulation of newspapers in U.S. increased by 60% there was a decrease in the total number of daily newspapers by 19%. It was also found that of 14 individuals representing 18 daily newspapers, about 1%, controlled approximately 24% of the daily circulation (1.426). This as circulation increased the number of groups who control newspapers decreased.

Another interesting feature of the newspaper is the

relationship between advertisement and the circulation. The owners of the newspapers can maintain them only if the circulation increases. With the increase in circulation the income from advertisement increases. It is estimated that only about 10% to 35% of the newspaper revenue comes directly from the readers. The remainder comes from the advertisers. With increase in the circulation, there is a decrease in the cost per copy of the paper, because there will be increase in the revenue from advertisement. A mere glance at the newspapers will show that a large fraction of the space is devoted for advertisements. Particularly cinema advertisements, and advertisements of manufacturers, and promoters of companies, will take a very large space. This leads to another feature of the modern newspapers. Advertisers tend to control the news as well as the editorials of the papers. Particularly in small communities a newspaper cannot thrive if it antagonises the local advertisers. " In 1947, for example, some businessmen in a small north Dakota community objected to a publisher's attack on what he chose to call monopoly capitalism and his defence of Henry Wallace, Cooperation, Peace with Russia, and Government regulation of business. Enough of them withdrew their advertising to force the man to sell his papers " (1.427). However, it must be realised that the metropolitan dailies like " The Hindu " or " The Statesman " or " The Times of India " have large circulation, as well as great financial resources. Consequently even though their revenues arise out of advertisements they cannot be intimidated by individual advertisers.

A newspaper will have several sections. It will give international news, national news, as well as local news. Such news will be about the recent events in which people are interested. Further, most of these news will be about prominent people of the world or country or a locality. There are also different sections giving the sports news, business and financial news, cartoons; there may also be some space for weekly features like the women's page or children's page or book reviews. Many of the newspapers in India as well as in other countries of the world have sections giving astrological forecasts. There may also be supplements to celebrate international or national events.

In the making of a news story many psychological features

are used. People are interested in learning about conflicts in human society. So whenever there is rioting, or industrial conflict, or war, there will be extensive reports about them. People are also interested in something unusual and thrilling. So there will be stories of corruption, robberies, floods and fires. The interest in the problems of life may lead to publication of murders, divorce cases, and others connected with sex. Because people are interested in new inventions, more space is being devoted to modern technological process in the newspapers.

With the increase in literacy, there will be an increase in the newspapers in the mofussil parts. In India, for example, in the olden days it was only in the bigger cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi that there were big newspapers. But in the recent years we have two trends. On the one hand, there is an increase in the newspapers in the Indian languages, and on the other, there is increase in the mofussil newspapers. In each state of India there are now many newspapers published in English and Indian languages. Because of the delay in getting the newspapers from the metropolitan areas people tend to subscribe or purchase copies of the papers published in the local areas. There is also the problem of news regarding the local events, and issues affecting the local society. Finally there is the problem of advertisements. All these lead to the support of the local newspapers.

Due to the difference in the policies of the owners of the newspapers, as well as the advertisers who patronise them, the same event may be reported in different papers so as to arouse different opinions and attitudes. Among some of the techniques adopted are, for .example, the object with which the news item is printed. If the paper looks upon a news as important it will print it either on the first page or in the middle page, otherwise it will relegate it to other pages. The size of the headlines is one of the ways in which a paper may influence opinion by giving bigger headlines which will attract the attention of the readers. The attitude of the people will also depend on the words selected for the headline. Different newspapers may select for headlines different words or phrases from the report. This will create different impressions in the minds of the people. Another technique is the way in

which the first sentence or the first paragraph is printed. The length of the news item will also affect the impression in the minds of the people. Finally, the editor may write an editorial about it and thus create a very big impression regarding the news item in the minds of its readers. These techniques could be studied by comparing two to three newspapers of any given day. Many of these techniques will be found in use giving rise to diversity in impression though the news story is the same. Similarly, an address by a public official may be summarised differently in different papers even when the dignitary distributes the report of the speech in advance.

Before concluding this section it will be well to remember that while the newspapers lead to the formation of opinion among the people, the opinion of the people will also affect the editorials, as well as the ways in which the news are underlined, by the newspaper authorities. So there is a constant interaction between the paper and the readers. Just as the people may be influenced by the editorials, the editor may be influenced by the letters to the editor. That is why, the letters to the editor form a very important section in any newspaper. Often times, newspapers also make opinion surveys in order to find out the needs of the people so that they can introduce new sections or obtain news from foreign countries, or other places in the same country, depending upon the interests of the people.

5. THE RADIO

The radio has become one of the most important media of mass communication in the recent years. During World War I the radio was employed to reach a few key officials in United States and in Europe. But by the 1930s the radio became, in Europe and America, a giant industry and the most significant vehicle of communication. According to the surveys, over 90% of the American families have at least one receiving set in their homes. There were 28 radio stations in India in 1959 as against 6 in 1947. In 1927 there were only 3,954 domestic receiver sets. This went up to 248,274 in 1947 and 1,230,814 in 1959. While 192,172 sets were imported as against 3,036 sets manufactured in India in 1947, only 4,393 sets were imported and 190,690

sets were manufactured in India in 1957 (19.171–175).   In almost every country excepting the United States the government has closely supervised, or even directly controlled radio broadcasting.   In a broad way we can distinguish between three kinds of radio broadcasting in the countries of the world.   At one extreme we have the totalitarian countries like in Nazi Germany or in U.S.S.R., where the government completely control the broadcasting operations. At the other end we have countries like United States where radio broadcasting is something like the printing of newspapers ; any private individual or organization can start its own broadcasting station after obtaining the necessary licence.   After the Second Great War there were as many as 1,000 stations in United States using about 100 wave length lines.   The government control is to see that there is no interference in reception ; but they do not interfere with what is broadcast.   In between we have countries like India, Great Britain and Canada where the government has set up a Corporation.   This Corporation is in complete charge of the broadcasting.   The government only supervises.   In countries like France and Australia there are government stations as well as private stations competing with each other.   Thus, there are different gradations and forms of the control of the government over the radio broadcasting.

Most people listen to the radio for entertainment.   48% of the All India Radio is devoted to music and 4% for drama (19.171).   In a broad way we can say that the radio sets are located either in the home or in a public place or in a car or a truck. In the recent years we have the transistor sets which each person can carry with him.   The housewife listens to the radio while she is performing her household work.   The children may be listening to the radio while they are reading or playing.   The factory workers listen to the radio in their factory during leisure hours.   The A.I.R. has special music programmes for the factory workers at the noon time.   The other citizens assemble in the park or in the village common to listen to the radio programme after their work.   Radios in the cars or in the lorries are not as popular in India as in United States, where the truck driver tunes the radio when he is driving to relieve the monotony of the long drive.   The bulk of the radio time

is taken up by music, drama and other varieties of enter-
tainment. Information and education could be broadcast
with very great effect so that the people in general become
well-informed. As long ago as 1935, Cantril and Allport
published their studies of the radio (12). Their studies
revealed many interesting features. For example, they
found that in general, people prefer male to female broad-
casters. They also found that people prefer standard pro-
nounciation; they do not like affectation and untrained
voices. It was also found that neither general statements
by themselves, nor specific details by themselves, were pre-
ferred. The most effective combination was the general
statement followed by specific details or illustrations. As
regards speech, they found that the best speech was from
150 to 160 words per minute, while as regards the duration
the most effective length for educational and other broad-
casts was 15 minutes. It could be longer for drama and
variety programmes. They found that dialogue form was
more interesting than talks. Though the entire revenue
of the American broadcasting stations comes from adver-
tisers, it was found that advertisers are least liked. Actually
82% reported that they are annoyed by their advertise-
ments. They found that direct radio advertising is not as
good as putting the advertisement into some kind of
programme.

The radio is a very important means to give the news
broadcasts in all the countries. In India, for instance, we
get the news in all the various languages of the country
at different times in the morning, afternoon, evening and
in the night. In United States, the world news will be
broadcast by the same station a number of times. "The news
of the world is given quickly, frequently and efficiently by
radio, but many of the reports consisting of little more
than expanded headlines, serve as a vehicle through which
commentators can editorialise or entertain their hearers "
(1.469). In this the radio news in India is quite different.
The news broadcasts in India just give the news without
any comments. This is a very healthy practice which the
A.I.R. follows. 22% of the broadcast in India is taken up
by news bulletins (19.171). Further, it may be noted that
the A.I.R. starts with the headline and then gives the de-
tails and finally ends up with the headline. This kind of

repetition aids both comprehension and retention. The practice of making comments while giving the news may have propaganda value, but they will not be able to make the people take the news in an objective way and form their own opinions.

As regards music, we have a very interesting phenomenon, which tells us something about popular tastes in any country. In India, as well as in other countries of the world, people like light music and sentimental music. Classical music is liked by very few people. The large majority of the listeners are adolescents and the youth of the country, as well as the large segment of the population consisting of the labourers, farmers and their families. Thus people have neither the training, nor the maturity to appreciate classical music. As it is well known, in India the All India Radio tried to cut down drastically, popular film music on the radio. The net result was that the Ceylon radio, the Goa radio and the Pakistan radio became very popular. Consequently, the A.I.R. is now revising its programme and is giving special attention to film music at certain times from some of its stations like Bombay and Delhi. Even in United States, the tendency is the same. For example, Field and Lazarsfeld (13) found that most Americans with the exception of those who attend the College, prefer to listen to popular or sentimental music. At any given time in any country of the world only a few people will be interested in the best type of music. The large majority, because of age, or because of lack of training, will necessarily enjoy popular music. But this should not alarm the broadcasting authorities. Any education of taste, can be effective only if it is done in an unobtrusive manner ; if it is done directly, it will lead to resentment, or even revolt.

Radio is a very effective means of communication since millions listen to the programmes simultaneously. Time, as well as space, is annihilated by the radio. As the cricket matches are being played millions of people, all over the country listen to the radio, to follow the comments. To comment on the events which are in progress, needs a special kind of skill. It is not everybody that can observe carefully and comment on it, in an interesting way, to hold the attention of the millions of unseen people. We have such comments whenever big processions or very important

meetings are held in the country. All these are of very great value in making the people understand what is going on in the country or in the world. Almost within a few minutes after the event is over, or as the event is going on the radio will broadcast either the actual programme itself or a commentary or news relay. The man who listens may speak about it to the other people. In that way the communication as well as the reaction to the radio broadcast will reach a larger number of people very quickly. This is a very significant feature of the radio. It helps in the formation as well as change of public opinion.

6. THE MOTION PICTURE

The cinema is another powerful medium of mass communication. In 1958, 295 films were produced in India of which 116 were in Hindi, 61 in Tamil (19.179). It is a potent instrument of entertainment, education, and propaganda. The addition of sound to the silent pictures in the late twenties have increased their popularity, because the effect of sound and sight together is much more vivid and lasting than that of either alone. Film helps rapid changes of time and place and it also promotes introduction of many details which are not possible on the stage. Still, it cannot produce the same effect as the stage, because on the stage there is an interaction between the actors and audience. The radio drama manages to ensure interaction by having a studio audience, but in the motion pictures this is not possible. Only the director and the staff can be the audience. So the staff have to develop the ability to determine the effect of the scene on the audience which will later view and hear the film.

According to one estimate 22% of the cinema-goers are below 14 years and 56% are minors. Thus the adolescents form the great majority of the film goers. Another important feature is that almost 50% of movie attendance occurs on Saturdays and Sundays. Thus by and large, the cinema is a source of entertainment for the people.

In a broad way we can distinguish between commercial films which are produced purely for entertainment and the educational films which are produced chiefly for information. Of course this distinction is not hard and fast. The commercial films also educate people and the educa-

tional films also have their entertainment aspect.   Among the educational films we have the films whose main objective is the teaching of particular skills, like the pictures which are produced for training programmes in the industry, and in the military, and to impart scientific knowledge about the human body etc.   Then we have the documentaries, which explain why social problems exist and how social institutions function.   A number of documentaries produced by the Ministry of Films in India are of a very superior order winning international awards.   397 documentaries and 533 newsreels had been produced till the end of 1958 (19.182).   Thirdly, we have the newsreels.   Their aim is to help education, to make people aware of the importance of incidents in the country and in the world.

Like the newspaper and the radio, the films also influence public opinion and are influenced by the public opinion.   This is why films are made use of for propaganda purposes in order to change the public opinion.   For example, in the non-democratic countries, film industry is under the direct control of the state.   They produce films deliberately designed as propaganda vehicles.   The Soviet pictures place a great emphasis upon the glorification of Russia and of communism.   Similarly in the Nazi days there were propaganda films to glorify the Nazi Party and the German way of life.   " German producers developed the documentary newsreels as extremely effective instruments of psychological warfare.   Films showing the march of the German armies across Poland, Norway, the Low Countries and France, for example, were cleverly utilised to impress anxious and wavering neutrals with Germany's strength " (1.504).   Similarly before the war and during the war the Japanese films tried to reinforce the prevailing ideology that the people should help in establishing the greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere.

In every country, films are censored.   Governments appoint Boards of Censors which witness the films and will recommend cutting of some parts which, in their opinion, are not ethical, or are against social welfare.   As early as 1922, the American producers and directors, set up their own motion picture association of America to which they submitted the script before it was produced, and the picture before it was exhibited, so that they could anticipate criti-

cism of the censorship regulation.   At that time the film industry had the reputation that it was producing low grade and immoral pictures and that many actors and actresses were deviating from the social mores in the pictures.   This association formed its " Code " to govern the making of motion and talking pictures.   The code began with the following preamble :

" Motion pictures producers recognise the high trust and confidence which have been placed in them by the people of the world and which have made motion pictures a universal form of entertainment.

" They recognise their responsibility to the public because of this trust and because entertainment and art are important influences in the life of a nation.

" Hence, though regarding motion pictures primarily as entertainment without any explicit purpose of teaching or propaganda, they know that the motion picture within its own field of entertainment may be directly responsible for spiritual or moral progress, for higher types of social life and for large correct thinking " (1.507—8).

The Code introduced three general principles which are enunciated as follows :

(1) " No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it.   Hence the sympathy of the audience shall never be thrown to the side of crime, wrong-doing, evil or sin.

(2) " Correct standards of life, subject only to the requirements of drama and entertainment, shall be presented.

(3) " Law, natural or human, shall not be ridiculed, nor shall sympathy be created for its violation " (1.509).

Thus, right from the beginning, the film industry as well as the general public and state have been fully aware of the way in which films influence public opinion, and thus affect social behaviour.   It is because of this, they have been taking continual steps to see that the film industry does not produce pictures which will change the public

opinion in favour of violence, and deceit.

Mrs. Jones (14) analysed 100 Hollywood films released between April 1941 and February 1942. She found that among 186 major characters 126 were males and two-thirds of them were economically independent people, free from parental influence. 46% of these major characters were wealthy, 32% were of moderate wealth and 17% were poor or destitute ; she was unable to classify the remaining 5%. This shows that a big proportion of the major characters are wealthy or moderately wealthy. She also found that 76% of these major characters were single, while 19% were married and 5% were divorced or separated or widowed. These figures thus show, what kind of individuals the audience wishes to identify itself with. She also made an analysis of the drives underlying the themes and found that 80% of the females and 64% of the males craved love. Among the other drives were fame, reputation and prestige involved in 26% ; health and safety of life in 16% ; money or material goods in 10% and devotion to duty in 9%. Thus the predominant drive in the pictures is love. She analysed the pictures from another angle in order to find out the proportions of the films showing the frustration or the fulfilment of those drives. She found that in 61% of the cases the goal sought was obtained. In 10% there was frustration. In 14% there was gratification of some drives and frustration of others. She was unable to categorise the remaining 5% of the cases. Thus, the analysis of these 10 films shows that the producers make films which depict the lives of the wealthy, unmarried individuals who are seeking love. This gives us an idea of the prominent drives among the audience. In Indian films, there are gorgeous scenes of the wealthy with whom the people identify themselves. The bulk of the cinema-goers are poor. So, there are similar trends whether the country is as rich as United States or as poor as India. The poor wants to identify himself with the rich. The moderately wealthy wants to identify himself with the more wealthy persons.

In 1933 Dale (15) analysed the contents of the motion pictures. Similarly Rosten (16) analysed the same in 1941. Doob has summarised the dominant themes in the motion pictures on the basis of the analysis of Dale and Rosten.

As regards love the following are the dominant themes : love ignores all, love is noble, first love is a wonderful thing, mother love is sacred.

With respect to human nature the themes are : wars are caused by bad people ; optimism is better than pessimism ; people are either good or bad. Men like to be flattered ; similarly women and children. Men commit crimes because they are bad.

As regards social goals the themes are as follows : a go-getter can rise in economic and social scale if he persists. Luck, virtue and good are more important than skill, intelligence or talent. Self-sacrifice is rewarded and selfishness is punished ; the wages of sin are punishment. The evil that men do should be forgotten when they die. Revenge is justified provided it is honorable.

As regards history the themes are : it must have been wonderful to be alive in pioneer days. History of one's own country is glorious and without blemish ; history is made and changed by great men and little incidents.

Among the dominant themes regarding ethnic groups are : one's country is the greatest in the world, foreigners are either very dangerous or very stupid ; foreigners are very strange. Negros are lazy and they are always servants.

Regarding occupational groups the themes are : policemen are stupid and detectives are very bright. Artists are queer ; professors are impractical, scientists can produce miracles overnight (1.512—513).

Thus the dominant themes of the films give us an insight into the general stereotypes of the group. It would be interesting if similar analysis is made of the Indian films produced in several languages.

In 1933 Peters (17) devised a scale to find out the degree to which motion pictures conformed to the current norms of the group. He took up 4 areas, the aggressiveness of the women characters, love making, treatment of minority groups and handling children by parents. He found that with respect to aggressiveness of women, the films were below the approval level. With respect to the love making the films mirrored what was approved as right and proper in the society. As regards treatment of the minorities, films were definitely better than the approved social practice. Similarly, it was found that in the films the standard of

handling children by parents was higher than that of the social norm. One of the persistent criticisms of the Indian film producers against the Boards of Censors is that the Censors disallow kissing and other forms of love making by the Indian actors and actresses in the films. They assert that the Board of Censors are inconsistent in their views because they permit western films with kissing and embracing while they do not permit Indian producers to produce similar scenes. The author has repeatedly asked the opinion of the students about this problem and he has found that the students without exception approve of the action of the Indian Boards of Censors. According to students it would be revolting if the Indian actors and actresses embrace and kiss in films just in the way in which it is depicted in the European and American films. According to them the western films conform to the western ways of love making and there is no harm if those pictures are shown. But the Indian films should show scenes of love making only according to the approved social patterns in our country. This is a very interesting phenomenon. This shows that there has not been much change in the Indian ways of love-making inspite of the influence of the western pictures. Essentially the group appears to be following its own codes and norms irrespective of the norms in the several countries with respect to love-making as seen in the motion pictures.

7. SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE MOTION PICTURES

A number of studies were made in the early 1930s in the United States about the short term effects of attending cinemas (18). In one study it was found that 26% of the boys and 14% of the girls showed more than normal movement in sleeping after seeing a film. But the effect varied with the pictures, age, sex, socio-economic status and educational background of the individuals. In another study it was found that pictures of danger aroused more intense P.G.R. among children below 12, while love and sex scenes aroused more intense P.G.R. among adolescents of 16 years and older. It was also found that the older and more educated subjects were less liable to emotional agitation after seeing a picture than those who were younger or less educated. It has also been found that children as well as

adults retain more information after seeing a picture.
Similarly studies have shown that ideas as well as attitudes
are affected by seeing pictures relating to race, crime and
war. Thus, what effect pictures have upon an individual,
depends upon the theme of the picture, as well as the
attributes of the picture, and the attributes of the person.
So the same picture will have different effects upon people
with varying attributes.

There is generally a notion that cinemas increase the
incidence of juvenile delinquency. While it is true that those
who are juvenile delinquents visit cinemas more than the
other young people, it is difficult to assert whether it is
films that have made them juvenile delinquents. Because
these children have been breaking a number of rules set up
by the parents they will also frequent cinemas more. On
the other hand, there is no doubt that films help to feed
our fantasy life. The gorgeous setting, the luxurious fur-
niture, the fine cars, innumerable servants, all these give a
thrill to the people who attend the films. Similarly, there
is identification with the joys, sorrows and dangers to which
most actors and actresses are exposed in films. The romance
on the screen attracts the young people and there is a
vicarious satisfaction. Like the theatre, the novel and the
radio, the cinema is a conventionalised outlet for many of
our unfulfilled wishes. Going to a cinema is not looked
down upon as a social crime. It is only when an individual
goes too frequently to a cinema, that other people may
look down upon him, and treat him with contempt. Be-
cause it is a conventionalized outlet, and because several
people of varying grades of education and wealth attend
the films, there are no evil effects. It is certainly true that
entertainment provided in the pictures could be at a
higher level, particularly because in the bigger cities,
thousands go to pictures for recreation and relaxation. Any
kind of film will attract thousands of people every day.
This is the reason why the film producers should set up
their own standards of making the film which are of a high
order in entertainment as well as in instruction. But the
popular opinion that crime in society is due to crime in
the motion pictures cannot be substantiated. The films
depict the social life of people. They also depict the social
aspirations of the people. So the film cannot be any more

dangerous or corrupt in its influence than the social insti-
tutions and the social activities themselves. We shall learn
something more regarding the case of juvenile delinquen-
cy in a subsequent chapter (See Chapter XX).

The picture, like the news story, or the radio report,
creates and feeds our stereotypes and myths. So what effect
the picture or a drama will have on us depends upon the
social problems at the given time. To give an illustration, a
war picture will depress people during the peace time. On
the other hand, it will rouse them during the war time.
Similarly the war film will depress the pacifists, while it
excites and pleases the militarists. So the attitudes of the
individuals as well as the social incidents and the climate of
the time will determine the response to a given film. Simi-
larly a film about organized labour may draw large numbers
of people among the labour unionists while it may depress
the industrialists and managers. A number of films in the
1950s in India have been devoted to the agrarian problem
because land reform have been agitating the people ; vast
masses of landless labourers and agricultural tenants are
greatly interested in this problem. So the film producer
as a shrewd businessman exploits the social problems in
order to make successful films. But it cannot be said that
this is purely a matter of business exploitation. The people
will be in a better position to understand the problems in-
volved after seeing a picture on the plight of landless
labourers, on the one hand, and the position of the land
owners on the other. In this way the films dealing with
current social problems influence the opinion of the people.
It must be remembered that public opinion is not some-
thing which is determined by just one incident or one
medium of mass communication. There are so many in-
fluences which impinge on an individual at a given time,
that we cannot say whether the given opinion of an indivi-
dual is based exclusively on this or that experience. The
actual events of the life, the daily struggles, our contacts
with other people, these affect us probably much more than
the politician's speech or the newspaper headline or the
exciting film. So while realising the importance of these
mass media of communication, we should not commit the
error of exaggerating their importance and develop an opi-
nion that the people are being corrupted by what we, with

our superior standards, look upon as demoralising.   There
are a number of influences.   The effect of one film may be
counteracted by another film or newspaper article or a pub-
lic lecture or a discussion.

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PROPAGANDA

1. *The reputation of the term*

THE TERM propaganda arouses in the English language
emotional reactions against it. Propaganda is looked upon
as a dishonest, misleading, underhand and unethical pro-
cess. It is looked upon as a means employed to mislead the
unthinking masses of the people by offering them ready-
made opinions. Our aim in this chapter is to analyse the
process by means of which propaganda is made use of to
build up public opinion in a group. Thus, propaganda is
one of the means employed in the socialization of the indi-
vidual at a particular time in a given group. The word
propaganda in derived from the Latin word *propagare*
which means to generate or to reproduce. Every religion
adopts certain methods in order to spread its own· faith.
In this sense religious institutions conduct propaganda to
influence the people to accept certain views and ways of life.

The term propaganda acquired a bad reputation in
English language in the 1920s and 1930s. Three reasons
brought about this kind of effect. Firstly, the scholars
exposed the lies disseminated by both sides during the
wartime, using the propaganda machine. With the help
of mass communications, made available by the progress
in technology, each country deliberately spread false infor-
mation about its own success and about the failures of its
enemies. Secondly, during the same period, the govern-
ments of Soviet Russia, Italy and Imperialist Japan set up
their ministries of propaganda and culture, which carried
on propaganda to make their people have faith in their
'destiny' to control the world and to look upon other
nations as despicable and evil minded. They also controlled
the press, the radio and the motion picture. They punish-
ed individuals or groups that differed in their views. Each
country had its own concentration camp and prevented
freedom of expression and roused fear in the minds of the
opponents to the regime. These activities led to a bad

connotation for the word propaganda in English language. Thirdly, the peoples of English speaking countries of the world had a faith in their democratic institutions. They were convinced that individuals should make their decision by themselves uninfluenced by any kind of fear. This also generated an emotional aversion to the technique of propaganda.

2. *Propaganda and education*

An attempt may be made to distinguish between these two terms so that we can understand the processes underlying them. As we have seen above, propaganda is looked upon as dishonest and misleading. But, education is looked upon as honest, ethical, enlightened, disinterested instruction. However, we have to understand that both education, as well as propaganda, seek to influence people. The older generation, as well as the educational system, seek to influence the younger people. This is a part of the process of socialization. Sometimes it is asserted that the difference between education and propaganda is that the latter is based on suggestion while the former is based on enquiry and thinking. Though this distinction is quite valid when we are dealing with the adult population of a society, it must be borne in mind, that the distinction breaks down when we are thinking of the way in which children are being influenced. Most of the socialization of the child is based on suggestion. It is undoubtedly true that the aim of education particularly at the secondary and the college level is to enable individuals to think for themselves and not to be misled by suggestion. Education is the process by means of which the society ensures that the citizens listen to the various parties and their propaganda to arrive at their decisions about what is right, good and true.

One important aim of education is to increase knowledge or the skill of an individual. But what sort of knowledge are we thinking of? The propagandist also is communicating knowledge. What, then, is the difference between the knowledge that we obtain through education and that obtained through propaganda? The knowledge that is imparted in the schools and colleges is knowledge that is held to be correct by competent men and is verifiable. Thus

it is very difficult to demarcate very clearly between education and propaganda. In Soviet Russia, as well as in Nazi Germany, the schools were themselves made use of for propaganda purposes. Lessons were written in the textbooks praising one particular form of government and society and condemning other forms. Even children's books containing stories are made use of in Russia and China to propagate Communism. It may be said that the competent men in Russia and China look upon this kind of information as being very necessary, useful and true in bringing up children in those countries. Similarly history books in different countries contained a good deal of propaganda material. The Indian history books prescribed for the children during the British days, praised the work of the British in India and condemned the Indians who opposed the spread of the British influence. To give one illustration, while the Indians called the war of 1857 the "War of Independence", the British historians called this the "Sepoy Revolt". This is the reason why today the UNESCO has set up a programme to see that history books are written for the school children in an objective way showing that each country owes its progress and its culture not only to the great men in its own land but also to the influences from the neighbouring countries. Thus it is very difficult to draw a line between where education ends and propaganda starts.

It may be asserted that the aim of education is to lead the people to seek for truth. This implies an attitude of enquiry and independence of judgment. It may be asserted that in this particular aspect there is variance between propaganda and education, whether the propaganda is that undertaken by a particular religion or by a dictatorial government. In this sense we find that propaganda offers readymade opinions instead of encouraging enquiry. In other words, the aim of propaganda is to bring about a closed mind. On the other hand, the aim of education is to help people to develop independent thinking. This is the reason why both religions as well as dictatorial governments, punish people who hold contrary views to the official opinion. Propaganda leads to an intolerance of free thinking, whereas genuine education permits and encourages free thinking.

We should not conclude that propaganda is necessarily dishonest, unethical or misleading. Many good causes need propaganda. For example, when the Public Health Department of a country wants to fight certain tendencies in group living, in order to root out certain diseases, it must necessarily adopt techniques of propaganda. For instance, though India, from time immemorial, has paid the greatest amount of attention to personal hygiene, practically 80 to 90% of the people do not devote any attention to personal cleanliness. It is one of our important tasks today to make all the people in the country to bathe regularly and to wash their clothes daily and to keep their houses as well as the surroundings of the houses in an hygienic manner. This can be done only through a good deal of propaganda, in cities as well as villages, in schools as well as hospitals. Similarly when there is an epidemic of cholera or typhoid, it is necessary to have propaganda vans to go round to influence the people to protect themselves by vaccinations and inoculations against being infected. Thus in times of crisis, in times of famine and flood and epidemics, propaganda has to be used in order to make the people understand the dangers to which they are exposed and the means by which they can overcome these difficulties. Similarly, during the struggle for independences techniques of propaganda were used by Gandhi and his followers in order to awaken the illiterate, as well as the educated masses, to become alive to the need for Swaraj. It cannot be said that the propaganda in favour of freedom, liberation from colonialism and democratic way of life are misleading or dishonest. In other words, it is necessary for us to understand the value judgments and aims of the given group to find out whether the communication of some information is looked upon as education or as propaganda. Lectures in America about the ideals of democracy would be considered as education whereas the same lectures in the dictatorial countries would be looked upon as propaganda and the organizers as well as the speakers would be arrested and sent to concentration camps. Thus, what is propaganda depends upon the way in which the given group views the problems about which the propaganda techniques are employed. In India, for instance, in the last few years when the Congress Party as well as the government, on platform as well as in

the press, delineated the essential features of " Socialistic Pattern of Society " this was looked upon as propaganda by the other political parties and by the sections of the society which are affected by these programmes of\action. On the other hand, when industrialists and business men through platform and press speak about the need for freedom of private enterprise, some political parties, as well as the government, look upon this as propaganda. Thus we can look upon this as a relative problem depending upon the social norms and social goals of the group at the given time.

It is generally assumed that propaganda seeks to influence people's beliefs and attitudes and thus ultimately their actions. The aim of propaganda is to influence the action of people by influencing their opinions and attitudes. As we have already seen there is the general impression that the specific beliefs and attitudes that are sought to be influenced are neither valuable in themselves nor are they socially desirable. It is presumed that the propagandist seeks to influence the beliefs and attitudes of people because of some ulterior motives and purposes which he has in his mind. Consequently it is assumed that when a person is influenecd by propaganda his responses are uncritical. They are not based on reasoning and assessment of facts or the purposes of the propagandist.

In contrast to these the goal of education is looked upon as seeking to increase an individual's knowledge. Here we find a contrast between propaganda and education. While propaganda seeks to influence people's beliefs and attitudes, the aim of education is to increase knowledge among the people. Consequently the specific knowledge which education seeks to impart is looked upon as both valuable in itself, as well : being socially desirable. It is assumed that action which arises on the basis of knowledge is one which promotes the individual, as well as the social, welfare. Finally it is believed that the response of an educated man is a critical response, that is based on reasoning, while the response of an individual influenced by propaganda is an uncritical and an unreasoned one.

This takes us to the fundamental problem whether there is any difference in the cognitive processes involved in propaganda and education. It is possible that a teacher may have an unconscious desire to do propaganda. As an illus-

tration we can give the analysis of the sums given in Thorndike's arithmetic book by Freeman (1). Freeman has shown that a number of sums given in Thorndike's book stress the 'capitalistic notions regarding private property, wages, interest etc. Thus these sums according to Freeman tend to strengthen the beliefs and attitudes of children with respect to certain economic practices. Freeman asks us to imagine what would have been the opinion of people regarding an arithmetic book which gives problems relating to low wages and under-nourishment of Negro workers in the cotton mills of the Southern States of America and so on. Such arithmetic problems would certainly lead the children to learn the arithmetical principles as efficiently as Thorndike's book or any other book on arithmetic. But there would have been the criticism that such a book is propagandist and is unworthy of pure arithmetic.

We may also give by way of illustration the work of Myers (2) who conducted an experiment to study the control of conduct by suggestions. In teaching English letter-writing to foreign-born soldiers in the American army it was his design not only to teach the soldiers how to write letters but also to introduce specific opinions and facts in those model letters which would help in the " Americanization ", of these foreign-born soldiers. Myers found that the course not only improved the writing ability of the students but it also succeeded in influencing their beliefs and attitudes about the American way of life. Here we have an instance of conscious propaganda.

While Freeman labels Thorndike's sums as " unconscious propaganda " we find that Myer's model letters are " conscious propaganda ". What is the difference between conscious propaganda and unconscious propaganda ? It is clear that the purposes of Thorndike and Myers were different. It was not the intention of Thorndike to do any propaganda about certain economic practices, while Myers definitely wanted to induce beliefs and attitudes which would make the foreign-born soldiers more Americanized. However, as regards the effect on the children or on the soldiers it does not differ because of the differences in the " intentions " of the authors. Consequently, as far as the psychological processes are concerned, there is no difference even though

there may be a difference in intention. The essential psychological processes in propaganda are the same as in learning any other type of material. Whether it is in propaganda, or in education, whether there is conscious or unconscious intention, people learn certain things which influence their beliefs and attitudes.   In this fundamental process there is no difference whatsoever. As Krech and Crutchfield write, " Whether material or events are propagandistic in nature, it must be emphasised, it does not inhere in the conscious intent of the creator or initiator of the materials or events but in whether the person who applies the term approves or disapproves of the possible effects of the material. From a strictly scientific analysis, there is no way to distinguish between the fundamental processes involved in propaganda and non-propaganda " (3.332).

3. *The need for propaganda*

Because of the unfavourable attitude induced by the word propaganda and the intellectual and emotional resistance to being misled by the techniques of propaganda we find that there is generally an attempt to belittle its value.

There is a great need to adopt propaganda on a number of social problems as we have seen above. It is very necessary to make the people alive to the importance of a number of social problems. For example, in India, tuberculosis is a disease which takes away many lives every year. Consequently the medical profession, the Central Government as well as the State Governments have prepared a number of charts and booklets to explain to the people how to prevent the spread of this disease and how to protect oneself and one's children from being infected. This is very necessary in order to make the people understand the problem and protect themselves against being infected. As is well known " T.B. Seals " are now being sold by the post offices and other organizations in order to raise money for the campaign to eradicate tuberculosis. Similarly, there is a great need to make people understand the value of a number of welfare programmes that have been launched by the voluntary agencies and the State and Central Governments. A number of journals are now being issued like, for example, " Social Welfare ", " Yojana ", " Swast

Hind " etc. These magazines issued in many languages, are very useful in describing the concrete programme of the various organizations and also the problems concerning these are discussed by individuals who are interested in them. Thus these journals are a great source of information and they are also generating a good deal of enthusiasm among the people, regarding these very important aspects for the improvement of the society. Consequently we should not be misguided by the connotation of the term propaganda and conclude that all propaganda is misleading or vicious. As we have seen in the previous chapter public opinion involves public discussion. There must be material for public discussion and this is where propaganda techniques are employed by the voluntary agencies as well as by the State agencies in order to make the people aware of the problems. As we shall learn in the succeeding chapter this is the aim of conferences, seminars and group discussions. All these are techniques which are being adopted by society, in ancient times as well as in modern times, in order to make people become aware of the problems so that they can arrive at their own decisions. The mischief consists in using techniques to mislead the people and in making them accept the suggestions themselves as decisions without making them aware that there are other sides to the problem and that it is only after a discussion that decisions should be arrived at. Finally propaganda should not become coercive and prevent open-mindedness in people. The defect is not in propaganda itself but in the adoption of propaganda for the promotion of intolerance.

4. *Language and propaganda*

The chief medium through which propaganda operates is through language, whether spoken or written. Consequently we may consider briefly the importance of language as a major tool of propaganda. " Propaganda (vocal and written) has attained high eminence among the ' forces ' that control man. It has been seen as a weapon of warfare more deadly than the atom bomb and as an instrument of peace more effective than the United Nations. Among the virtues of propaganda, as a control technique, have been listed, its

relative cheapness, its subtlety and its almost unlimited potentialities " (3.316).

It is generally assumed that words are only symbols of objects or actions. Consequently it is assumed that language is a sort of substitute for behaviour. On the other hand it is asserted that words are perceived in the same way as objects are perceived. It is this belief that is at the bottom of the modern educational practice that the children should be taught to read words as well as sentences as a whole. An illustration may be given. As it is well-known when we hear a loud noise we may be startled by it or react to it with fright. Here our reaction is based on the loud noise itself. The noise is perceived in a meaningful way and not as a symbol for something else. As we have seen earlier (Ch. VIII) we make adjustments to the words spoken by others or to the words which we speak ourselves. That is to say we adjust ourselves to words, as we adjust ourselves to objects. Just as a person is influenced by the objects around him he is also influenced by the words presented to him. " When we hear a word or a sentence or see a word or a sentence in a newspaper, we frequently perceive meaning directly and immediately and we react to these words, phrases or sentence as we would to any other object in our real world" (3.327—8). The propagandist manipulates the words and he brings about vast changes in behaviour of individuals by manipulating words. This is responsible for the unique power of propaganda. But this should not mislead us into thinking that the basic technique in propaganda is the use of words and phrases in a clever way by repeating slogans. Words are perceived in a context with internal as well as external aspects. In other words, in order to understand why spe n is effective in persuasion, we must understand the motives and the emotions of the listener. We must understand the current beliefs, the needs and the attitudes of the listeners. It is only when we understand both these aspects, namely, the influence of the words on the one hand, and the influence of the needs of the people on the other, that we can satisfactorily understand the uniqueness of this phenomenon of propaganda. To give an illustration certain political parties in India have tried to do a propaganda on several actions of the government by influencing the opinions and attitudes

of people. They have taken up certain problems like food shortage in order to develop contrary attitudes towards the government. For example, they have chosen to start " Satyagraha " on the Republic Day or on the Independence Day. In 1958, for instance, " Satyagraha " was started by a political party against the procession of the Maharaja of Mysore, who was at that time the Governor of the State, for going on an elephant during Dasara. It is no doubt true that the procession of a Maharaja on an elephant is the relic of feudalistic practice. .But the people as a whole did not pay any heed to the propaganda because their desire to see Mysore in Dasara time and look at the grand procession was more strong than the need to put down a feudalistic practice. Probably the people at large did not see the contradiction between feudalism and democracy in the way in which the leaders of that political party saw it. Thus, mere words by themselves if they come into conflict against the group norms will not have any influence on the opinions, beliefs, attitudes and actions of the people.

5. *Propaganda and suggestion*

Sociologists like Tarde and LeBon looked upon suggestion as something that could explain many aspects of social behaviour. Social psychologists tried to explain the unique effectiveness of propaganda as something which arises out of the uniqueness of the phenomenon of suggestion. It was held that certain individuals were highly suggestible and that propaganda involves the process of suggestion. But a number of recent experiments show that suggestibility is not a trait in individuals but that it depends upon the situation in which people are placed or find themselves in, and on the needs, emotions and beliefs of the persons. In other words it is in differences in the immediate psychological fields of the people concerned that we should find reasons for the operation and the effectiveness of propaganda. So the question arises, what are the conditions in the psychological field which lead to increase in suggestibility ? Prestige suggestion has been given as a supreme example where an individual will change his belief and attitude without any critical evaluation or reasoning. Long ago Bridges (4) found that when a person was asked to judge

the aesthetic values of different pictures, he was influenced by majority opinion with respect to the choice of the best and the worst of the pictures given. Bridges called this the ": majority prestige effect". We tend to accept as correct and desirable what the majority of the group in which we live accepts as correct and desirable. As we have already seen this is one of the important aspects of socialization. The individual is trained by suitable social incentives, of reward and punishment and praise and reproachment, to accept the ways of the group. The individual who does not accept the ways of the group finds himself in a very difficult and painful situation so that he ends up by adopting the ways of the group. This majority prestige is made use of as a special technique in propaganda as well as in advertisement. Advertisers generally make use of the two aspects of prestige suggestion. They may say the particular soap is used by the millions. Because everybody is using it you are asked to use it and very often this majority prestige suggestion works. The other device which the advertisers use is " Expert Prestige Suggestion ". They will say that the President of India has given a certificate to their product or that the favourite film star is using the product and praises its value or they may say that a famous chemical laboratory has tested the product and has certified. In propaganda also we find that these two kinds of prestige suggestions are made use of to influence the people.

Dunker (5) conducted an experiment to determine the effect of social suggestion on food preferences. He found that the food was preferred when it was presented as the favourite food of some admired personality. Now the general assumption is that the object is preferred because of the suggestion of prestige. According to Dunker if an object is preferred because of the prestige suggestion there is a change in the perception of the object itself. The object is now perceived differently and it is this change of perception that leads to a change in the valuation or judgment. In India, till a few years back, tomato was not looked upon as a good vegetable or fruit. It was neither used in cooking nor was it consumed raw. But today tomatoes are being consumed in large quantities all over the country. People now appreciate not only the food value of the tomato but also its taste. Here we find that expert-

prestige value, as well as the mass-prestige value, are operating. Because the nutritional experts spoke about the value of tomato and because the medical men advised the use of tomato, large numbers of people started using it and when larger numbers of people started using it more people used it. There is also another factor here that the mother gave tomato juice to the child. Thus the new generation was brought up in a different way. Thus a concrete food preference is due to a number of reasons. We can take up another illustration. In India the prestige cereals are rice and wheat. In the southern states the village peoples consume other kinds of cereals like ragi, jowar etc. When they migrate to cities or when they become more educated and fashionable and try to live like city folk, they try to take rice. They may even go to the position of feeling ashamed to consume the other cereals with which they have been brought up and relish most. In the next generation, due to changes in the food habits of the family, the children may be brought up on rice and so there is no conflict at all between the desire for rice and the desire for ragi. Here again we find the influence of group suggestion, particularly the group with prestige, like the city people. Now the problem is whether it is by group suggestion or by expert suggestion that the individuals come to change their beliefs and attitudes. According to Dunker the change takes place on the perception of the object itself, in the value attached to the objects. The perception of the object is modified because it is presented in a new context. There is a change in the frame of reference. When the context changes there is a change in perception. In other words, the prestige suggestion operates on the basis of the principles of perception, learning and thinking.

We may give another experiment in illustration. Asch and his associates (6) tried to find the influence of group prestige suggestion on judgment with respect to the qualities of various professions. They asked four groups of students to judge the qualities of the following ten professions : accountancy, business, dentistry, engineering, journalism, law, medicine, music, politics and teaching. They asked them to rank these professions for the following characteristics : intelligence required, social usefulness, conscientiousness, stability of character and idealism. One

experimental group was told that 500 college students who worked on this problem on a previous occasion had ranked the profession of politics best, regarding all the five characteristics. The second experimental group was told that the 500 college students had ranked politics as the lowest for all the five characteristics. The third experimental group was told that the 500 college students had ranked politics as the highest in social usefulness and the lowest in intelligence and other characteristics. The fourth group served as a control group who gave their judgments without being influenced. It was found that the control group gave the 8th rank to the politicians for intelligence as well as for social usefulness. On the other hand it was found that the first experimental group raised the politicians from this 8th place to the 4th place for both intelligence as well as social usefulness. The second experimental group which was told that the majority of students had ranked politics as the lowest in all the 5 characteristics lowered the politicians from the 8th place as given by the control group to the 9th place for intelligence and a rank of 8.5 for social usefulness. Finally the third experimental group which was told that politics was ranked the highest in social usefulness and lowest in intelligence raised the politics profession from the 8th rank (control) to the 5th rank in social usefulness and lowered from the 8th rank (control) to the 9th rank in intelligence. Thus, the various groups in this experiment ranked the politicians in consistency with the majority prestige suggestion that was offered to each group. The experimentors next asked the subjects " what particular group or groups of politicians did you have in mind when making the judgment " ? It was found on the basis of the replies to these questions that the term politics was interpreted differently by the different groups. In other words the four groups were not judging the same objects. For example, the first experimental group said that they were thinking of national politics, statesmanship, politics as a career etc. The second experimental group answered that they were thinking of the political underlings, the neighbourhood politicians etc. Thus, the meaning of the term politics was altered by the individuals in the group according to the group prestige suggestion. A little later the experimentors interviewed the subjects and asked them

whether they were influenced by majority prestige sugges-
tion. In spite of the obvious fact that they were influenced,
most of them denied that they had ever been influenced
by majority opinion that was given to them before they
started ranking the various professions. The investigators
suggest that this is not because the subjects were lying but
because they were not aware of any change in their response.
Because the perceptions changed, the values changed, and
they did not realise that the perceptions changed because
of the standard that was set up by the prestige suggestion.

The child looks upon the parents as experts in all fields.
Consequently it accepts as gospel truth whatever the parents
say. It is here that we find the origins and the tremendous
influence of expert prestige suggestion as a social factor,
particularly in propaganda. Similarly the child by sociali-
zation accepts the group norms and consequently whatever
the group approves the child accepts. This is at the basis
of the effectiveness of majority prestige suggestion. But it
must be realised that individuals are influenced by these
suggestions in the appropriate and critical manner only
when there is well organized belief systems. Under such
circumstances an expert's opinion will be valued only in
the field in which he is an expert. Similarly the opinion
of the majority will be valued only when it concerns the
group norms in the particular set. On the other hand
because the belief systems of most of the individuals are
vaguely organized there will not be marked degrees of
differential preference-value according to the source. For
instance, Gandhiji's words were not only valued in the
national and religious fields, but most of the people valued
his opinion in every kind of activity. This is one of the
important defects in social life. It is only when the indi-
viduals are critical so that they accept and value the expert's
opinion in his own field that the propaganda will not have
misleading effects. However, it is the general tendency for
people to accept the hero's words in every sphere. For
example, Stalin was not only valued as a political leader,
as a statesman, but also as a thinker, as an art critic, as a
scientist, and so on, in Soviet Union till Kruschev burst the
Stalin myth. In the same way there was the Hitler myth
in Nazi Germany. It is because of this myth-making that
propaganda becomes very successful when it is in the name

of the accepted and respected leader. Socialization at home as well as in the school should lead people to attach value to an expert's opinion only in the particular technical aspect in which he is an expert and not to generalise his expertness into other fields. It is by education that we should make people more and more critical about what to accept and what to reject in the words of the man who is respected for a particular value.

Similar observations may be made with respect to the majority opinion. No doubt as individuals belong to a particular group, the group norms have to be adhered to, but our tendency will be to generalise and to accept the group norm even in cases where it is not held or it is not necessary. For instance, what the group believes is very important with respect to certain significant features in the group life. But if the individual resists all change, change in any sphere, because it is against the group norms, then that individual is not acting in a critical manner. To continue to use pre-scientific methods of cultivation, house building, road making, food preparation and so on, when better methods are available because of progress in science and technology, is attaching a wrong value to the majority prestige. This is where the expert by trying out new ideas and bringing about new results and changes in the group as a whole can change majority opinion.

Coffin (7) while summarising conditions of suggestion and suggestibility and the experimental work regarding this problem concludes that the relative effectiveness of the majority opinion or the expert opinion depends upon the issue that is being considered by the group. When the issue relates to social norms, then the majority opinion is more influential on the group. On the other hand, when the problems under consideration relate to personal problems or situations without affecting or involving the social norms, the expert prestige will have greater influence. For example, in technical matters the expert opinion will operate more strongly than the majority opinion. But in a country like ours it is very difficult to draw a line between what relates to social norm and what is "technical". Though it is hard to generalise, it may be asserted that several details in the way of life are controlled by social norms in India. This is the reason why the expert opinion

18

is not valued or followed. For example the methods adopted by the Indian farmer are antedated. These are methods which were developed thousands of years ago, but when the expert goes to the village, his opinion does not carry weight because in the problem of techniques on agriculture the social norm is more potent than the knowledge of the expert. This was the condition in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is only in the 19th and 20th centuries that in Europe and America, due to the advancement in science and technology, the expert opinion is valued. In this the Indian agriculturist is highly pragmatic. Mere techniques of propaganda will not help to change him from pre-scientific to scientific methods of farming. It is only when actual experiments are conducted and he is shown the difference in yield between the traditional methods of agriculture and the new methods of agriculture that he will be convinced. It is only then that he will transfer the technique of agriculture from the sphere of the social norms to the sphere of expert opinion and follow the suggestions given by the experts. Mere speaking, however cleverly done, will not lead him to believe it. Only seeing will lead him to believe it.

The Union Minister for Agriculture asserted (8) that in 1953—54 only 4 lakhs of acres were using the Japanese method of cultivation, whereas in 1957—58, the acreage increased to 40 lakhs of acres. While the old method gave an average yield of 20.14 maunds of paddy per acre the Japanese method yielded 34 maunds per acre. The Minister hoped that it would be possible to increase the area under Japanese method of cultivation to 80 lakhs of acres by 1961, the end of the Second Five Year Plan. Thus, the Indian farmer is very ready to change provided he is convinced that the new method brings about better yields.

Thus, whether it is majority prestige, or expert prestige, the suggestion will operate effectively by first changing the nature of the perceived object ; because the object is viewed in a different light, the suggestion is accepted. But there are also certain cases where prestige suggestion may be accepted because of the need of the individual to agree with the person who makes the suggestion. This is what happens where there is close identification with the individual who gives the suggestion. In India at the present

moment this is a very important factor. Gandhiji was able to bring about vast changes in the social practices of the country because responsible highly placed individuals closely identified themselves with him and accepted his suggestions. We shall discuss more of this problem later when we are dealing with the problem of the Leader (Chapter XIX).

6. *Techniques of propaganda*

We may now gather together the various techniques used in propaganda. We have discussed many of these in the earlier sections of this chapter. The problem will be clarified if we bring them all together in one section.

(a) The effective propagandist will tie up the propaganda with the existing need in the group. This is a very important aspect of effective propaganda. When the propaganda is not related to the needs of the people, it will have no value, however well-planned it may be. To give one illustration the techniques adopted by the Communist Party have succeeded in certain states like Kerala in the latter half of the 1950s. It is in Kerala State that the density of the population is very high and the economic life of the people is very unsatisfactory because of the tremendous pressure on land and the large numbers of the educated unemployed. In other states the very same techniques failed to make any impression on the people because, though the economic situation in the other states is far from being satisfactory, it is not desperate. It may be mentioned that according to the techniques of Marx, communism thrives best where there is a great deal of industrial exploitation. However, in India in the 1940s and 1950s among all the labourers, it was the industrial labourer who was the best paid. So in industrial centres like Bombay and Ahmedabad, the Communist Party has not been able to get as much success with its techniques of propaganda as in the areas where there are large numbers of landless labourers. A successful propagandist must first study the needs of the people and the frustrations of the majority of the people in the group. If there is no frustration in the majority of the group then any technique, however well-designed, will be an utter failure. Thus the success of propaganda depends upon the needs and the emotions of the people.

(b) Secondly the success of the propaganda will depend upon the ambiguity of the situation ; where the beliefs of the people are clearly structured, suggestions will not succeed. It is only when the people are faced with an ambiguous situation which they have not understood properly that the propagandist can enter successfully and exploit the situation for his own purposes. This is where propaganda which may lead to undesirable social consequences cannot succeed when there is a free press ; if the newspapers present the different views in the same paper then misleading propaganda cannot succeed. When people are able to read both sides of the matter the perception regarding the situation will be clear. Consequently exploitation will not be possible.

(c) That suggestion which is in conformity with the systems of beliefs of the group will be more readily accepted than the suggestions which go counter to the prevailing belief-systems of the people. So, the good propagandist will first have to discover what beliefs and attitudes are generally held by the group. It is only when he understands the philosophy of life of the people that he can build up his propaganda material in such a way that it fits in with the prevailing beliefs. In India, generally, members of all political parties, including the Communist Party, will wear khadi. This is because for the last 40 years, since 1920, khadi has been associated with truth and with nationalism. So the members of the various political parties understand that they can influence the people more easily and more quickly if they put on khadi. In India, khadi is a symbol of the realisation of the truth regarding the economic backwardness of the masses of the people. Similarly the religious cry succeeds more easily in India than other kinds of slogans. " Islam is in danger " is a very powerful weapon to consolidate the Muslim population. Similarly in 1857 the Hindu soldiers rallied together because they thought their religion was in danger as the British were trying to force the people to use animal fat from the cows. Even today any appeal which is built around " Cow slaughter " will be very effective because the Hindus have the greatest abhorrence for killing the cow. Just as a close study of the needs of the group is very important for purposes of effective propaganda ; in the same manner, a close

study of the people is also of great importance.

(d) When a belief is attacked directly propaganda will be futile. So one of the techniques that is adopted is what is known as "indirect" propaganda. The propagandist will not attack the belief directly but he will try to undermine it by dealing with the consequences which arise out of the belief. For example, in the United States, the people have a strong belief against conscription. They do not like people being forced to receive military training. But, in countries like France, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, conscription is accepted by the people because it is in harmony with the prevailing beliefs. The persons interested in getting the American youth to join military training did not attack the fundamental belief of the Americans. They tried to speak about the value of being trained in the army for a short while, how it leads to learning new skills, how it enlarges the educational opportunities, how it improves the health of the people, how it provides recreational facilities. It is by these means that they tried to make the people eager to join military training. The Life Insurance Corporation emphasises the value of insurance for the education of the children, the marriage of the daughters and so on. It is in this way it overcomes the strong beliefs against insurance and all that it implies. Similarly, reference may be made to the methods adopted in ancient India for propagating practices and habits for a healthy life. Bathing is associated, not with health, but with religion; cleaning the house, particularly the South Indian custom of cleaning the entire house by washing on Fridays, is linked with religion. People are enjoined to pray befor taking food. In order to go into the *Pooja* room and to pray they must either bathe or at least wash their face, hands and feet. It is in this way many of the customs which are very hygienic are built up even today among the children.

(e) Propaganda, as we have seen, involves suggestion, namely, acceptance of opinions without proper examination. In order to achieve this purpose one of the best techniques is to get the man with prestige in the particular group to be associated with enunciating the plans and programmes to be given to the group. When the most respected individual in the group is associated with the inauguration

of the campaign then that campaign can succeed in the group. If, on the other hand, the propaganda makes use of individuals who do not have the prestige in the group that propaganda will not have much chance of success. One of the reasons for the unique success of the Congress Party during the days of national struggle was the success with which Gandhi was able to get the most respected individuals in each state, city and town to become ardent congressmen. It is this which was responsible for the tremendous enthusiasm of the people as a whole for the programmes launched by the Congress.

Yet another technique to make use of suggestion by prestige, is by asserting that the majority of the people are in favour of the ideas and the programmes set up by the group. Whatever success the communists may have in India in certain parts of the country is due to this majority prestige. By going round from village to village, where there is a great pressure of land problem, where there is "land hunger", this party is able to build up a strong following among the majority of the villagers who are landless labourers. In this way the conflict between the Congress and the communists in these villages has turned into the conflict between the "land-less masses" and the "landlords". The Congress has succeeded in capturing the imagination of the people with prestige in the villages, who, in other words, own lands, while the communists have been able to capture the imagination of the landless labourers who are in large majority and who are highly frustrated people because of their pathetic economic condition. In order to overcome this conflict the Planning Commission, the ministers, as well as the Congress Party, are now engaged in doing propaganda for a new concept, namely, the utilisation of co-operatives in order to build up prosperity in the villages and in order to increase the productivity both in the farms as well as at home through cottage industries.

The majority prestige is a very powerful influence to build up a large following. It will be asserted that everybody in the group is on the side of the particular party. This will be an incentive for more people to join and thus increase the followers of this particular group. This is what is known as the "band-wagon technique". This

technique will be used regarding issues which have a general social import.

(f) The group which is conducting a propaganda will select the suitable kind of persons to contact the masses and to address public meetings, as well as private meetings. Persons whose dress, speech, language, usage etc., are the most acceptable to the group, will be selected. Further, individuals who are " orator-agitators " will be employed. People who address in an uncommon way, or whose speech is not according to the norms of the group, will not be useful ; then the propaganda will not succeed. The basic thing that we have to bear in mind is that the individuals who conduct the propaganda should be acceptable to the group as a whole. If the individuals who do the propaganda are not acceptable, the propaganda will also be not acceptable. That is why great care has to be devoted to the selection of the right kind of people. In order to build favourable attitudes among the members of the group, which is the target group, other techniques may also be employed like, for example, teachers who can start very good schools in the locality or doctors who are very efficient and can start good medical relief in the area. After building up favourable attitudes towards these individuals, because of their services to the group as a whole, other techniques of propaganda may be utilised in order to serve their purposes. In order to build up the right kind of attitude towards the government or towards the political party, particularly among the villagers, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, who are not amenable to other techniques of propaganda because of their illiteracy, poverty, ignorance and so on, some of these techniques will have to be used.

7. *Repetition*

Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* (9) asserted that a fundamental principle of propaganda is sheer repetition. He wrote " Propaganda has to confine itself to little and to repeat this eternally. Here too, persistency, as in so many other things in the world, is the first and most important condition for success ". This statement is both correct and incorrect. It is incorrect because mere repetition does not

have any magic potency in it to make whatever is repeated acceptable to the group. If a lie is repeated frequently it will not be believed, nor is a truth accepted if it is repeated constantly. For an opinion to be accepted the basic thing is that it should serve some function in relation to the needs of the group. Once a lie is accepted because it serves a certain purpose, then by sheer repetition it can be reinforced, so that a myth may be built up and it is believed. This is where Hitler is correct. For example, the Hitler myth itself was a big lie. That he was the most powerful man, and that he could lead the Germans to world conquest, was a big lie. It is childish to imagine that any individual, however great, however noble, could become the unchallenged power in the world, is a palpable falsehood which can only work in the nursery. Then why did the Germans, a superior, highly intellectual nation, believe in this Hitler myth? The reason for this is the needs of the people at that time and their frustrations. They were defeated in the First World War and were humiliated by the treaty of Versailles. They wanted to compensate for this loss of prestige by conquering, in a military way, the nations around Germany, particularly France. Hitler satisfied this need and so his Ministry of Propaganda was a unique success in Germany at that time. There is no doubt that repetition is a very important technique in propaganda, but repetition has only a secondary value. The primary value rests with the acceptability of the idea in relation to the needs and frustrations of the group at the time.

8. *Mass-communications*

The successful propagandist will make use of various avenues to repeat his message. Public meetings will be arranged in various parts of the country. Reports of these public meetings will be printed in the newspapers so that people can read them once again. Reports of the meetings will also be announced over the radio, so that people can hear about these meetings once again. There may be radio commentary so that the entire programme with the running commentary may be relayed several times about the details of the proceedings of that meeting, on that day and on the following day. Special exhibitions may be arranged so that

people can see the pictures, the cartoons, the charts, the tables of figures, the films, the film strips and so on. Newspapers may be asked to bring out special supplements about the particular issue so that throughout the country people will have fresh material about the particular problem to read. Articles may be written by experts who are interested in the particular problem. Pamphlets may be prepared and distributed either free of cost or for a nominal cost. Even costly books may be printed and sold at a nominal cost. Special literature may be brought to suit the various age levels so that propaganda may be done to suit the elementary school children, the adolescents and the adults. The " testimonial device " may be used so that people can accept, what the person whom they respect says, and reject what the person they hate says. To build up a society, as well as to break it down, various kinds of mass-communication may be used by the interested persons. It must be realised that there is nothing ' evil ' in the means of mass-communication. It may be used by people for the benefit of the society or to disrupt the group as a whole and to demoralise it.

9. *Verbal sanctions and stereotypes*

Another very important device in propaganda is to make use of stereotypes. A person or a group may be given a bad label so that there is rejection without any further examination. During times of war the enemy country is pictured as consisting of evil persons. The same device is being used today in what is called the " Cold War ", where each country pictures the other country as evil, designing and using the fifth column methods. The same thing is done when propaganda is conducted against the other political parties or social groups. The other party is looked upon as consisting of ' capitalists ' or of ' land owners ' and ' exploiters ' or ' agitators ' or ' communists ' who are interested in a violent social and political revolution and so on. In this way attempts will be made to undermine the prestige of the other group by using words and labels which will develop in the minds of the people attitudes unfavourable to them.

In a similar way propaganda may be done using stereo-

types in order to arouse favourable attitudes towards individuals or groups. In India favourable attitudes are built up towards a very noble man by building up stereotypes in the minds of the people. Because Gandhi was a noble man he was called "Mahatma." Often times Gandhi himself felt embarassed by this title. Several times he has expressed that he is a very ordinary man and that what he has done, any other human being could do. Still the use of the term 'Mahatma' was not given up. And even today people speak with great reverence about him because of the favourable attitudes which are resident in the word itself. Similarly Congress, as a political party, makes use of the Mahatma's name, the Mahatma's association with the party, his picture and other such devices to hold its control and retain the affection and admiration of the vast numbers in the country for the party. The communist party of India conducted in 1959 and 1960 "peace conventions" to support the 'peace policy' and 'non-alignment' policy of Prime Minister Nehru in his tackling of the China problem and to condemn the 'reactionary elements' who are 'whipping up a war psychosis' and prevent 'opposition' to the Prime Minister in the country.

Thus, by the appropriate use of words, it is possible to build up favourable or unfavourable opinions and attitudes among the large numbers of any group and this will intensify and help whatever campaign the individual or the group is interested in.

10. Slogans

Slogans are also verbal devices which are used in mass campaigns. Bellak (10) has defined the slogans as "Directive phrases, as having the characteristics of brevity and timeliness, use the imperative, are identified with a certain group, and can be considered essentialy as battle or rallying-cries". Thus slogans are brief and appropriate to the time and situation. They are also very powerful in rousing individuals to action. They are very powerful because they attract the attention of the people and when the group as a whole joins and shouts the slogans, the attitudes as well as the emotions are reinforced. The beliefs will be consolidated and the people will be prepared to do what-

ever the slogan directs them to do. This is the imperative character of the slogan. It has got a very good memory value because it is brief and because it is appropriate to the occasion ; it will be remembered by the smallest child as well as the most experienced professional man. In India Tilak's slogan " Swaraj is my birth right " at the beginning of the present century was a powerful slogan to unite the people and to make them develop attitudes of independence, courage, self-sacrifice, all of which were very important during the first half of the century in the struggle for independence. Gandhiji himself was a master in the art of slogan formation. In every campaign of his, he was able to develop slogans which galvanised the country as a whole and made the people determined in their struggle for freedom. It is impossible to over-estimate the powerful influence of slogans like " Quit India " and " Do or Die " which were coined by Gandhiji in 1942.

The slogans are able to catch attention because they use the technique of alliteration. Secondly, the memory value is increased by simplicity, brevity and rhyming. Thirdly, words which are rich in meaning and which are full of feeling tones will be used in slogans so that any person can understand the slogan and be influenced by the feeling tones of the words. For example, the slogan " Liberty, Fraternity and Equality " which was raised during the French Revolution has been very powerful during the last two centuries and probably will continue to be very powerful throughout the history of humanity. Similarly slogans like " right to work ", " the land for landless ", " the land for the tiller " and such others, which are full of meaning and feeling, have very powerful influence. Thus, the slogan will have value only when it appeals to a particular need in the group. A slogan like the " right to work " will have no value in a country where there are many jobs and few people. It can be powerful only in a country like India, where there is a large amount of unemployment and every factory and office puts up permanent notices of "' No vacancy ". Similarly in a vast country with a small population slogans like " land for the tiller " or " land for the landless " will have no influence whatever. It is only when the tillers of the land are not owners of the land and it is only when there is a great deal of " land

hunger" that these slogans will have any influence over the minds of the people. Thus a mere slogan by itself, however well-phrased, and however brief, will not succeed. A slogan can become effective only when there are certain crying needs in a group. Another slogan which we often hear in India is about potency of "influence" and the existence of "corruption". These terms are of very great significance today because of the amount of unemployment in the country. There are very few jobs available. When a post is advertised a few hundreds may apply and only one man gets it. Necessarily there will be frustration among the rest of the people, who are fully qualified for this job but who are not able to get it. Unless the employment opportunities are increased this cry of 'influence' will not stop. That is the reason why in the Five Year Plans the Planning Commission is striving to increase the employment opportunities. Similarly, because of the vast difference between the average man whose annual income is less than Rs. 300, per year, and the life of luxury of the well-placed political leaders, industrial leaders, administrators and others, there is always a feeling that the rich people are getting richer by unjust means. This cry of 'corruption' will not cease until this gap between the average man and the rich man is bridged considerably. This is also one of the important aims of the Planning Commission. Thus a slogan will be effective in a group only when that slogan appears to solve an important and immediate problem facing the group. This does not mean that solution suggested by the slogan is a correct solution. For example, the slogan "land for the landless" is not a correct solution in India, as the population is too large for any effective solution along these lines. The right solution for the economic ills is to industrialise so that fewer people will depend upon the precarious occupation of farming. Still this slogan can be very powerful and can succeed as a relieving cry because the "land hunger" is so great in the rural population today.

11. *Motivation and propaganda*

As we have seen above the term propaganda has two meanings. There is the neutral connotation to the term.

We find this in the definition of the term by Newcomb (11.207) that it is a " systematic attempt, by means of mass-communication, to influence attitudes ". On the other hand, there is also an adverse view regarding propaganda as an attempt to control behaviour of individuals by mis-leading them, so that propaganda is looked upon as a means to disseminate falsehood. As we have noted so far we should be very clear in looking upon propaganda as a technique, a technique which could be used for the good of the individuals and the group as a whole, or to mislead and exploit the individuals and the group as a whole. So the fault is not with the techniques of propaganda but with the way in which certain individuals or groups of indivi-duals use these techniques for their own ends and not for social progress. We now proceed to study the way in which propaganda involves motivation.

The propagandist (good or bad) must study the needs of the group; he should find out the needs which are being frustrated. Propaganda consists in making attempts to provide satisfaction to these unfulfilled needs. To take one illustration, the communist workers in the Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh found that because the zamin-dari system was prevailing for centuries in the old Hydera-bad State, the villages were full of landless labourers. So to build up their own party they set up programmes to satisfy the land-hunger, to give land to landless people. They distributed 'title deeds' to the illiterate and igno-rant agricultural labourers of lands belonging to the land-owners. The Party became very powerful around the year 1950. It was at this time that Vinoba Bhave went to the Telangana area to study the problem. He found the needs of the people. He also set up a programme to satisfy the needs of the people and this programme was the bhoodan movement by means of which he asked every person, rich or poor, who owns lands to give him a sixth of the property and he tried to distribute this land gift, that he obtained voluntarily from the land owners, to the landless labour-ers. Thus the communist groups as well as Vinoba Bhave used the same techniques of propaganda. But while Com-munists generated hostility among the landless labourers towards the land-owners, Vinoba Bhave generated love among the landed people towards the landless labourers.

Hostility leads to disorganization of society and murders of the landed people; whereas love leads to social construction and social progress. Thus, the technique of propaganda, which used motivation to make an idea or a plan acceptable to the people, works on the basis of a proper study of the needs of the group and an appeal to their feelings and emotions. Whether the consequences are constructive or disruptive to the society is merely a matter of the outlook and the motives of the individuals or groups who use the propaganda techniques.

We may give another illustration. The Indian Railways are now doing a good deal of propaganda in order to reduce ticketless travel in the railways and thus increase the national income. They are appealing to the needs of the people by developing slogans like" Railways are national ", " Railway property is your property " and so on. On the other hand in the smaller towns, interested parties are doing propaganda among the students who have to travel by train about 5 to 10 miles to go to school. They say "Why do you purchase a ticket? The railways are ours. So just get into the train and go to school". Thus, for constructive purposes as well as for disruptive purposes, propaganda may be used.

The basic aspect of propaganda is that it tries to satisfy the interests and the demands of the people by setting up necessary programmes. This has a profound effect upon the attitudes, as well as the behaviour, of the people. The techniques of mass-communication using the needs and emotions of the people will help to release great forces which vitalise the people. This is what Gandhi did from 1920 to 1948. He released tremendous forces in the society by his propaganda techniques and changed a country which was apathetic, to a country that was eager, for national independence and constructive work for the welfare of the society. So the appeals and the persuasions arouse and reinforce emotions and desires.

When propaganda is used to disrupt the society, the techniques of propaganda will appeal to segmentary strivings of the individuals rather than to the whole personality. For instance, the communist programmes, as we have noted above, by rousing hatred among the landless labourers towards the landowners, and fear among the landowners appeal, only to one part of the personality. Further they

appeal only to the emotions and inhibit reflection and thought. For example, the individual who is landless has both the desire to own land and hatred towards the land-owner on the one side and he has also his basic notions of what is just and what is good. The propaganda techniques used appealed to and aroused emotions like anger and hatred and inhibited considerations like what is right and what is just. On the other hand, propaganda that is direct-ed towards the welfare of the group as a whole, and the world as a whole, like the concept of sarvodaya, for example, will appeal not only to the needs and emotions but also it will reinforce social norms of the highest order and thus appeal not to a part of the personality but to the personality as a whole. This is where we find a very big difference between the Congress workers before national independence and after national independence. The Congress worker before national independence was striving for the prospe-rity of the country as a whole, but after national indepen-dence the same Congress worker is working for the pros-perity of his party, or, worse still, of his group within the party. This is why the non-Congress people in the country have an ambivalent attitude towards the Congress Party. Some times they identify the Congress Party as a mere political party ; sometimes they identify it with the pre-independence nationalist movement.

Propaganda also appeals to the religious motives. The Muslim League, or the Hindu Mahasabha, for instance, set up slogans like " Islam in danger " or " Hinduism in danger " and thus try to influence the beliefs, attitudes and actions of the people by mass-communication, by making them afraid that their religion, which they cherish with great love and respect, is now in danger of being affected and even eliminated because of the programmes set up by other groups. So, propaganda techniques make use of the needs of the people, their hatreds and jealousies, or their noble aspirations for the welfare of the humanity as a whole, in order to rouse the people from apathy to a strong interest in a particular line of activity.

12. Experimental studies regarding propaganda

Several experiments have been conducted in order to study

the factors which influence propaganda. Studies have also been made regarding the effects of propaganda. We may review briefly some of the important experimental studies in this field. Stagnor (12) found that the attitude of the college students shifted dramatically from neutrality to active participation in the war in the months following the attack of Pearl Harbour by the Japanese in 1941. Though the Second Great War started in 1939 the American people were strongly in favour of neutrality. They did not want to align themselves with the British and the French. But when their own fleet was attacked at the Pearl Harbour, there was a shift because of the propaganda and the great danger to American independence. There was a shift from neutrality to a desire for an active participation in the war. Stagnor (13) also found that there was a big change in the attitude of the American students towards the enemy countries. They became more and more unfavourable towards the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese. Thus the American students' attitude towards these countries were influenced by the war news and the propaganda.

Hovland and Weiss (14) conducted a series of investigations and found that by varying the source of communication they could alter the attitude of people regarding the communication itself. They showed that an identical communication evoked different reactions depending on the source of the communication rather than the content of the communication. Thus, we have now experimental evidence to show that there are two internal factors which affect our reaction to propaganda : (a) The content of the communication itself may be acceptable to the needs of the people or may not be acceptable to the needs of the people. If it is acceptable to the needs of the people then the propaganda will be successful. Otherwise it will fail. (b) Over and above the content, there is also the factor of the source of communication. If the source of communication commands prestige then the content of the communication will be accepted. Otherwise it will be rejected. This is the difference between our attitude towards the news broadcast by the radio, the news printed in the paper and the news communicated by praiseworthy people (apta) and gossip communicated by the people for whom we have no respect.

Long back Annis and Meier (15) conducted an experi-

ment to study the way in which beliefs and attitudes could be affected by means of " planted content ". Three groups of students co-operated in this experiment. One group read the campus newspaper which daily brought out a carefully prepared editorial inducing favourable attitude towards an Australian Government official who was supposed to have been on a visit to United States of America. The second group of students read during the same time editorial unfavourable to the Australian Government official. The third group read the daily newspaper which did not have the " planted content ". It was found that those who read the favourable editorials became favourably biased ; whereas those who read the derogatory account were unfavourably disposed. Both these groups differed significantly from the control group. Thus, a person who gets one-sided version exclusively about an individual or a situation, will accept it. This is the result of reinforcement. If nothing different is read or heard then the tendency will be to accept whatever has been reinforced.

This study supports the commonsense assumption that when one receives a one-sided information from a person who is trusted the tendency will be to accept the version as a correct one rather than doubt it as one-sided. This is the general principle which was made use of by the totalitarian governments in their propaganda policies. For example, in Nazi Germany (16) the radio as well as the other means of mass-communication excluded competing propaganda. So the Germans were getting only one version. Secondly, they regarded the source of the version namely the government as praiseworthy. The German Government found that it was difficult to maintain their reputation for praiseworthiness when they were defeated in battle after battle by the Allies. This brought about a reaction among the people against the government.

Some experiments have been conducted to find out what happens if more than one side of an issue is presented simultaneously. Knower (17) presented both the sides regarding prohibition. He found that those who were originally in favour of prohibition continued to have the same opinion after going through the arguments. Similarly those who were against continued to hold unfavourable attitudes towards prohibition. Thus, when both the sides

19

of the picture are presented there is reinforcement for the opposing stands. In other words, the arguments by themselves will not affect the stand taken by the individuals. We can now understand why those who are favourable, as well as those who are unfavourable, will both tend to have the same opinion if only one version is presented by the government or the interested party time after time. Even those who are unfavourable will change because there is now nothing to reinforce their unfavourable attitude.

Experiments have also been conducted in order to study the influence of propaganda if it runs against the norms of a group. Kelley and Volkart (18) obtained the permission of the authorities and conducted an experiment among the boy scouts. They presented a propaganda which tended to reduce the emphasis on traditional scouting activities like craft work, camping etc., and, on the other hand, emphasised activities within the city where the boys lived. It was found that those scouts who valued the Scout Movement very greatly were the least influenced by the communication. It was also found that such people listened to the communication with patience because the scout authorities were present. Thus, when the propaganda material goes against the social norms of the group it will be rejected (19). It has also been found that if the content of communication is against the group norms the communication will then be perceived as " propagandist " or " biased ". It may be stated, by way of illustration, that the resistance to religious conversion as a result of propaganda is due to this fact. The individual will not lightly give up the group norms merely on the basis of the propaganda. This also implies that for a propaganda to succeed it must be unopposed to the group norms or it must appear as if it reinforces the group norms.

13. *Propaganda prophylaxis*

We may conclude this chapter by dealing with the practical social problem as to how to protect people against " the power of propaganda ". The purpose of education is to make individuals arrive at their own decisions and not be swayed by what other people say. The society values an individual who is critical and has an independent judgment

and comes to his own conclusions after an objective analysis of the situation. The newspaper editors generally try to present not only both sides of the picture about the various social, political and economic problems in the national as well as in the international field, but they also try to get experts, who are detached and who are not interested parties, to analyse the situation so that people come to decisions about this problem based on the various kinds of material which they read in the newspapers. On the other hand, there are also newspapers which are called " Yellow Press ", which try to present only one side of the picture. This is the reason why in democratic countries there is full freedom of speech and freedom of press so that people with different opinions and convictions can freely express their views and leave it to the judgment of the people to accept or reject what they say. On the other hand, as we have noted earlier, in totalitarian countries because there is no freedom of speech or freedom of press, only the version of the ruling party will be presented and so the people are misled.

It was believed that if people are taught how to recognize propaganda then they would become immune to the effects of propaganda, but this is not a correct position. This assumption does not take into account the basic fact of motivation.

It must be realised that no propaganda can be effective so long as there are certain needs which are common to many individuals in the group. If the propaganda appeals to these needs, as we have seen above, it is not possible to suspend the judgment and try to find out the truth of the matter. The general tendency of the people, however educated they are, will be to accept something which is in line with their needs. For example, in the pre-Independence days the governmental authorities often wondered how people throughout the length and breadth of India could react to a certain news in the same manner. They were thinking that this was all due to propaganda techniques and so they tried to seize the newspapers and other means of mass-communication. But to their chagrin they found that those acts only reinforced the solidarity of the group rather than disrupt it. Similarly it was found that when the leaders were put into prison the movement

became stronger rather than weaker. All this happened because the people throughout the length and breadth of the country, in the cities as well as in the villages, were awakened and felt very strongly the need for Swaraj, national independence. This dominating need made the people very sensitive to the actions of the government and to react in an identical manner throughout the land.

Consequently, in order to prevent the effects of propaganda, the basic thing is to study the needs of the people and to do something concrete to see that these needs and demands are satisfied. This is one of the important problems facing United States on the one hand, and Russia on the other hand. The people of Asia and Africa are sensitive to colonialism. So they are strongly anti-colonial. Since the nations of Western Europe were the colonial countries and since the United States of America is strongly associated with these " colonial nations " in the countries of Asia, Africa, as well as South America, propaganda against the United States works quite easily. Russia has now found, that the old method of merely attacking colonialism, and making people anti-colonial in their outlook, is not enough any more. This is the reason why both the Western nations as well as Russia are now very keen on helping the economic development of the under-developed countries in the world. When people are not frustrated, when people have enough of work to do and satisfy their physical as well as cultural and intellectual needs then they will become immune to the misleading effects of propaganda. Thus, any agency, in any group, which wants to do propaganda, or avert the evil effects of propaganda, will have to carefully study the needs and frustrations of the individuals in the group and do something concrete to remove the disabilities of the frustration.

One of the techniques that is normally used against misleading propaganda is to expose the techniques of the " propagandist ". But, so long as the needs to which " the propagandist " appeals exist, these methods of attacking the techniques of propaganda to show that they are false will not be effective. Over and above the study of the needs of the people and understanding these needs there should also be " counter-propaganda ". The government or the group should attempt to induce new beliefs and

attitudes, rather than merely to attack the "propagandist". So effective counter-propaganda will be in a position to make the people feel bewildered. They will then start having doubts about what the other man has been telling. When there is doubt, there is a chance for rational decision. This is why the various parties, the various religious groups, and the various countries of the world, try to set up their "Information Services" which try to counteract each other.

It may also be mentioned in passing that the most effective way of protecting people against the evil effects of insidious propaganda is to encourage people to form independent associations where they join together once a week or once a month and discuss the burning problems of the day. If in small groups these discussions about the various current problems, social, national as well as international take place, then the individuals who participate in these discussions will know that there are different aspects of the problem and so they will not be carried away by the techniques of propaganda.

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PREJUDICE, STEREOTYPE, AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

1. *We learn to love as well as to hate*

IN THIS PART we have been analysing the various ways in which an individual is socialized. Through socialization of the individual, it must be recognized, we not only try to develop in him affiliative tendencies towards other individuals, groups and humanity as a whole, we also develop in him hostile tendencies towards other individuals and groups. That the society or the group in which an individual is brought up is responsible for building up in him hostile attitudes towards other groups, is the fact that has been laid bare by a number of studies in the last 3 or 4 decades. The group makes individuals prejudiced. It makes them so prejudiced, that they are not aware that they are prejudiced at all. They look upon this as normal behaviour. This is one of the astonishing features of socialization, that through this process, any thought, feeling or activity can be made to appear, as if it is perfectly normal and even " natural ". As we shall see in a later chapter the martial groups bring up the children in such a way that to hate the enemy, to deceive the enemy, to destroy the enemy is a normal socially approved process. The individual who does not conform to the social norm and does not hate the enemy, is looked upon as a social deviate and a threat to the security of the group. He may be punished. It must be fully recognized that the group helps the children to love others, as well as to hate others. To put it in another way it must be realised that each individual learns to love others and similarly learns to hate others. So it is for the group as well as the individual to learn to love and learn not to hate other individuals and groups.

2. *What is prejudice*

The term prejudice is derived from the Latin noun *Preju-*

dicium which means a judgment based on previous decisions. In English language, this word acquired the meaning of pre-judgment. That is a judgment before due examination of the facts—a premature or hasty judgment. Today prejudice means not only that it is a premature judgment but also that it has an unfavourable attitude. As Newcomb (1.574) puts it, "A prejudice is thus an unfavourable attitude — a predisposition to perceive, act, think, and feel in ways that are 'against' rather than 'for' another person or group ". Thus we find that prejudice involves a number of characteristics.

(a) It is an unfounded judgment. We arrive at a judgment without adequate facts. Many prejudices are chiefly because of experiences in childhood of which we are not conscious, so that they are not based on personal experiences at all. For example, the caste prejudices that we have, arise in this way — during childhood we are brought up in such a way that we are punished if we play with and bring into the house children belonging to certain castes ; we may be punished when we bring children belonging to certain castes into the dining room, pooja room or kitchen. In all these ways the child learns to develop social distance towards the members of the other castes. There is yet another way in which we develop our notions regarding the other castes. Our parents and others in the house tell us about the attributes and characteristics of the other groups. The child of an upper caste is informed that the people of the lower castes are dirty, dishonest, that they eat prohibited kinds of food and so on. It is in this manner that the child develops stereotypes with respect to other castes. For example, the word *sudra* or the word *asprusya* bring out a number of vivid attributes regarding the members of these groups.

We may also develop hasty judgments on the basis of what we read about other groups in the history books or in novels. We may accept the characteristics of other groups, on the basis of what we have read without taking any trouble, whatever, to find out for ourselves whether these descriptions that we have read are true of some individuals in that group or of all individuals in that group. The Hindu child who reads Indian History may identify himself with Shivaji and develop a hatred for the Muslims.

Similarly the Muslim child who reads Indian History may develop a hatred for Hindus because they brought about the downfall of the Muslim rule in India. We read history with pride and the reading of history reinforces our prejudices. This is the reason, why attempts are now being made to write history in such a way that it does not rouse feelings of hostility towards other groups; but mere re-writing of history by itself will not help. The parents at home must develop detached ways of speaking about the other groups to the children.

(b) As we have just seen, apart from the fact that a prejudice is based upon unfounded judgment or no personal judgment at all, a prejudice involves an unfavourable attitude towards the other group. There will be a certain amount of hostility towards the other group. This hostility may lead to discrimination against the individuals of the other group. For example, there are separate residential areas in our villages and cities for different caste groups and creed groups. Throughout the country we find that the Harijans have separate living quarters, probably a couple of furlongs, or even more, away from the living areas of the rest of the people.

It is often said that the separation of these residential areas is not based on any kind of hostility. "They claim that attitudes are prejudiced only if they violate some important norms or values accepted in a culture" (2.9). Dyer (3) got ninth grade children to make some statements. He asked adult judges to sort these judgments according to the degree of prejudice involved. It was found that whatever the boy said against girls was not judged to be prejudiced because this was normal for an adolescent. Similarly statements against teachers were looked upon as not prejudiced because this was also quite normal among students. It is only when the children expressed some animosity towards labour unions or towards socially acquiesced races that they were classified as prejudiced. This way of looking at prejudice implies that so long as the behaviour, as well as the judgment, is socially approved in the given group, then there is no prejudice involved. It is often held that the higher caste man has no prejudice against the lower caste man because he does not have any hostility towards him. He merely wants that the lower caste man should live in a

certain area and take up certain occupations. This is quite normal. There is no question of hatred or hostility towards the members of the group. This was also the attitude put forward by the Christians in Europe who had segregated Jews in the Ghettos. Neither the Jew nor the Gentile felt that this segregation was based on any hostility. Both of them accepted. Similarly the separate residential areas for the various castes in India have been accepted by the various groups for some thousands of years. The Harijans felt for centuries that living in those areas was perfectly normal, as did the higher caste people. Similarly, in the Southern States of United States and in South Africa, the Negroes are made to live in segregated areas. Actually South Africa has now made ' apartheid ' part of the legal system. According to South Africans this is not based on any kind of prejudice against the coloured people. There is no hostility whatever. This is merely a practical way of people of different cultures and different ways of life, living together in a harmonious way. It is true that so long as the segregating group as well as the segregated group, accept segregation there is no evidence of unfavourable attitudes or hostility. But the moment an individual of the segregated area wants to move into the other area there will be hostility. Thus absence of hostility is merely based upon the absence of situations which bring about a conflict. Through custom, segregation can be practised with success, as through force segregation can be practised with success. Children can be brought up to feel that the custom or the force has to be accepted and so when they grow up they will not question it, but if they question then conflict will arise. Unquestioned obedience to custom or to force will bring about an apparent harmony in the group. But this harmony is precariously based and will be upset, the moment certain individuals of the acquiescing groups start having doubts about the validity and the justice of the custom or the force. As Sherif (4.648) puts it " . . . . Social distance is great when relations between groups are unfriendly or hostile. When unfriendly interaction continues over a time span, this social distance is established as a group norm. Norms of social distance are lasting end products of particular kinds of intergroup relations ". Thus the fact that the Harijans and other lower groups have consented to live

in segregated areas, is an expression of the long period through which these unfriendly interactions have solidified through segregation. The social norm which makes segregation acceptable, is due to the realisation of the fact that hostile behaviour on the part of weaker group will not lead to harmonious relationships. They acquiesce because they are helpless. Hence segregation works. But as we have noted above segregation is based on hostility and hostility will not be evident in social relations, so long as the other group accepts the decision. It is only when they start reasoning and protesting that we find that hostility emerges.

(c) Prejudices are primarily attitudes shared by a group as a whole. It is this which makes the prejudice seem acceptable because other individuals share the same attitude. It is reinforced in each individual. Since the other individuals in the group share the sense of threat, it is increased in each person. So we do not judge the individual as an individual. We judge him as a member of a group, a rejected group ; because the group is rejected each member of the group is also rejected.

(d) Whenever a prejudiced person is asked, why he has a certain prejudice towards another group, he will always give reasons for his opinions. He speaks of the concrete cases when individuals of the other group have behaved in a typical fashion. This is how an individual's experiences reinforce the prejudice. Hostile or unfriendly acts committed by a member of the disliked group is remembered, whereas incidents which do not support the prejudice are either forgotten or treated as exceptions. The net result is that the prejudice survives and becomes stronger.

3. *Difference between erroneous judgment and prejudice*

What then is the difference between an erroneous judgment and a prejudice ? If it is a mere error of judgment a person will be ready to discuss the matter and rectify his judgment, but, if there is prejudice we find : (a) that there is an active resistance to all evidence that would unseat it. For example, when an upper caste Hindu argues that the Harijans are dirty, any evidence regarding certain Harijans as being very clean in their personal habits will not be accepted ; at the most the prejudiced person will treat this as an exception so

that he can continue to hold the view that Harijans are by 'nature' dirty people and that a few exceptions will not give any basis to alter his judgment. Similarly, the Hindu has a stereotype that the Muslim is dirty. The fact that there are many Muslims who are very good in their personal habits and the fact there are many Hindus who are very bad in their personal habits, will not alter his opinion or belief.

(b) Secondly, there is an emotional reaction when a prejudice is threatened with contradiction. The prejudiced person gets emotionally excited when his prejudices are challenged. This increase in emotion and inability to discuss the problem in a detached way is an evidence of the operation of prejudice in the individual. For example, when a higher caste man is asked to treat the Harijan as a human being he may retort : ' Will you give your daughter in marriage to a Harijan ? ' Allport calls this ' re-fencing '. " There are two conditions under which a person will not strive to re-fence his mental field in such a way as to maintain the justification. The first of these is the somewhat rare condition of *habitual open-mindedness*. There are people who seem to go through life with relatively little of the rubricising tendency. They are suspicious of all labels, of categories, of sweeping statements. They habitually insist on knowing the evidence for each and every broad generalisation. Realising the complexity and variety in human nature, they are especially chary of ethnic generalisations. If they hold to any at all, it is in a highly tentative way, and every contrary experience is allowed to modify the pre-existing pre-ethnic concept.

" The other occasion that makes for modification of concepts is plain *self-interest*. A person may learn from bitter failure that his categories are erroneous and must be revised. For example,..... he may think that Italians are primitive, ignorant and loud until he falls in love with an Italian girl of a cultured family. Then he finds it greatly to his self-interest to modify his previous generalisation and act thereafter on the more correct assumption that there are many, many kinds of Italians " (2.24).

4. *Growth of prejudice*

A few decades back, it was assumed that there is a specific

instinct of pugnacity or hostility among the members of one group towards the members of another group. Whenever we see any trait universally present among all the members of a given group, there is a tendency to look upon it as something " innate " to that group or as something " natural " to that group. With the increase in our knowledge we are now finding that there may be other reasons for the universal presence of an attribute in a group. It is no doubt true that the human being, like the animal, is equipped to love others and also to fight when he feels that he is being obstructed or thwarted in his attempts to reach certain goals. In this sense it is true to say that human beings have an original equipment to become pugnacious or hostile. But it is not true to say that any group of human beings are originally equipped to become pugnacious or hostile towards a given group of human beings. This is where the error arises.

We can now see how prejudices and hostilities are acquired by the child as a member of his group, in other words, how the child learns to acquire the prejudice against the members of other groups. (1) Observation of young children shows that they play with children of other groups without making any discrimination whatever. Even children who are unable to communicate with each other because they speak different languages, will play with each other in a harmonious way or they may fight with each other in their play. It is only as the children grow up that they learn to treat the children of other groups as different from themselves. It is generally asserted that the children are able to play with the other children because they are unable to discern the difference. So it is asserted that as the children grow they become more and more capable of discriminating and so their behaviour towards other children will be different. This view presumes that the hostility to other groups is innate but that it takes time for this hostility to develop because of the immaturity of the sensory experience. Clark and Clark (5) conducted a very interesting experiment to test this hypothesis. They took up 233 Negro children ranging in age from 3 to 7 years, and presented them with 4 dolls two of which were brown with black hair and two were white with yellow hair. The children were asked to give to the experimenter, the doll

that looked like a white child and the doll that looked like a coloured child. 86% of the three-year old children, 93% of the 5 year old children and 100% of the 7 year old children were able to give the correct dolls. Thus, even children who are 3 years old could discriminate correctly and respond appropriately. Children are able perceptually to discriminate between the white children and the Negro children. Still they do not have at this age any preferences, prejudices, or hostilities. It is only as they grow, because they are exposed to certain experiences in the society, they learn to develop prejudices to the children belonging to the outgroups.

Horowitz and Horowitz (6) interviewed some white children in a Southern community and found that many children reported that they were punished for not main-taining the proper distance toward the Negro children. Similarly the children of various caste groups and creed groups in India are taught by the parents to develop the correct behaviour according to the social norms prevailing in the group. The child of the upper caste who plays with the child of the Harijan group would be asked to remove its clothes and probably the child would be made to take a bath before it is admitted into the house. Similarly, the child, which touched either accidentally or intentionally the barber, may be made to have a bath before he is admitted into the house. Thus by admonishing, by threats of punishment, and actual punishment, the parents build up prejudices towards the other group. This is because of the social norms prevailing in the group ; the parent who does not build up prejudices in the child will himself become the victim of hostility among the members of his own group. So to protect himself from the members of his own group the adult has to behave according to the social norm towards the members of the other groups and also to make his children behave according to the social norms. This is how, long before the child is aware that he is having any prejudice whatever, he will have developed prejudices and because it is in line with the social norm of his group he does not consider this behaviour to be a prejudiced behaviour at all.

(2) We find considerable differences among the white groups in their attitude towards the coloured groups. Atti-

tude studies as well as observations show that nationalities like the French, Scandinavian and Russian develop very little prejudice towards people with coloured skin. Next to them come the British. The American people of the Southern States have a greater prejudice against the coloured races than the British people ; the white people in South Africa are the most intolerant towards the coloured races. They look upon them as a threat to their own survival in the African continent. So they have to develop the apartheid laws in order to segregate people of the various races in South Africa. Thus, the degree of prejudice towards the coloured races varies with the nationality. In other words, it varies with the social norms of different groups.

(3) Further, there are individual differences among the members of a group in their ability to distinguish the members of the various groups. Some Hindus are ever conscious that the other person is a Muslim. Similarly some Muslims are ever conscious that the other person is a Hindu. On the other hand many Hindus are not conscious of the creed of the other people with whom they are mixing. They just treat them as human beings and not as members belonging to particular groups. Recently an interesting study was made by Allport and Kramer (7). They presented 20 pictures half of which were those of Jews and the other half of non-Jews, to more than 200 men and women college students. These students had previously been given an attitude test to measure their anti-semitism. The students were asked to classify the 20 pictures into Jews and non-Jews. The responses showed that those who were anti-semitic made more correct judgments of the Jews than those with lower prejudice scores. Thus, for a person who is anti-semitic it is very important to learn to distinguish the features of the Jews and identify them. Attitude reinforces perception and perception reinforces attitude. The person with a pre-disposition of anti-semitism becomes strongly motivated and develops to perceive people in the frame of reference appropriate to that attitude. In abnormal behaviour we find similarities to these. As is well-known the person with " dirt-phobia " notices very carefully the cleanliness of the object that he comes into contact with. Thus, the prejudiced person, as well as the person

with dirt-phobia, both of them look upon certain situations or persons as a source of threat and so they learn to guard themselves against the threat by learning to perceive the situation or persons which are threatening.

(4) Among the various caste groups, race groups and national groups there are observable differences in the physical features. These observable features are pointed out and emphasised. This is how the differences gain prominence and the underlying unity of humanity is ignored. In India over and above these differences in physical features, we actually enhance the differences between the various caste and creed groups by certain cultural practices. For example, between the Hindus and the Muslims, there are differences in dress. Similarly there are differences in dress between the various castes among the Hindus. We have also got certain decorative marks to distinguish groups among Hindus with different beliefs, like, for example, the *Vaisnavaites* and *Saivaites*. Thus, over and above the differences in physical features, we also bring about certain differences in dress and decoration which enhance the differences between groups. The children learn to perceive these differences. They also learn to react to these differences in the appropriate manner according to the social norms. In the olden days it was to the advantage of the Muslim to dress differently and to speak differently so that he could identify himself with the Muslim ruler and thus gain prestige. This also helped to build up strong ingroup feelings and cohesion among the various converts to Islam. But the very same perceptual features which strengthen ingroup feeling will also strengthen outgroup feelings. These remarks are appropriate even to the creedal groups among the Hindus. Today we find that with urbanisation, the development of national ideas and so on, the differences in dress and differences in marks in the face have practically disappeared. So it is not possible to find out either the caste or creed of a man by merely looking at his dress or at the marks on his face. This leads to a decrease in prejudice so that we are not aware of the differences when we are socially interacting.

(5) Prejudices also arise because of the differences in customs and ways of living. Broadly the differences in the ways of living between Hindus and Muslims were highly

exaggerated during the days of the conflict between the Congress Party and the Muslim League Party. It was because of this that there were constant Hindu-Muslim riots during the 1930s and 1940s.

Thus, the children of each group learn to discriminate the children and the adults of the other groups. The parents and other leaders play a very important part in helping the children to perceive the differences and to react appropriately. It must also be borne in mind that when a group feels threatened by the other group, then prejudice increases. The prejudice becomes the social norm of the given group and all the adults and children share this social norm, and they will be punished if they do not share and conform to these social norms. This is one of the reasons why we find that minority groups feel very insecure and thus develop strong prejudice against the majority group and provide opportunities for the majority group to develop hostility to the minority group. Further remarks concerning the problem may be reserved for another section in the chapter. It must be realised that learning to be prejudiced against a group depends upon the interiorisation of the social norms of the given group. So long as the social norms continue to be of that character children as well as adults of the group will continue to behave in that manner.

Prejudices affect the way in which we perceive the other groups, what attitudes we have towards them. It must also be realised that our experiences with the other groups will reinforce our prejudices and this will affect our perceptions, beliefs and attitudes. It will be profitable to study the various aspects of prejudice in the following sections. We may start with the analysis of the opinions that we form about the prejudiced group, the stereotypes we have concerning these groups, and how there will be social distance. Finally we may study something about the action which may be directed towards the prejudiced group.

Stereotypes

Long ago · Lippmann (8) pointed out that we have oversimplified "pictures" in our heads regarding other groups of people. These pictures in our heads Lippmann referred to as 'stereotypes'. When you go to purchase a brass cup

or steel cup you will find that all those cups are exactly of one shape and size. This is because the metal plate has been cast into that form by moulding. Lippmann showed that we have similarly standardised pictures in our mind regarding other people. In a broad way we can define the stereotype as a false classificatory concept with strong emotional feeling tones regarding other groups of people. These stereotypes provide us with ready-made frames of reference for interpreting people belonging to the various groups. As we know our perception of objects is based not only on what we see at the given moment but also on our past experiences regarding such objects. That is why in a fleeting moment we are able to perceive and confidently describe the characteristics of a chair or table that is momentarily exposed to our view. Of course we know that such momentary exposure may also lead us to illusions. When we are afraid, the rope may be interpreted as the snake, and the tree's stump as a human being or as a ghost. Sometimes we may persist in looking upon the illusory experiences as real experience like, for example, when people do not live in a house because they are afraid that it is a haunted house. Similarly we find that when we perceive an individual we not only think of the present experiences but we also try to categorise him as a member of a group and look upon him as having all the attributes which we have associated with that group. Hence our tendency is to look upon an individual, not as an individual but as a member of a group. If we try to understand him as a member of a group we are immediately able to attribute many characteristics to that individual. Often the person to whom you are talking tries to find out your religion and your caste by ascertaining your name. Just as the dress indicates the group to which you belong, your name also indicates the group to which you belong. However, in the recent years, there is a tendency for people to name their children in such a way that the group consciousness is not involved in it. People are not only abandoning the use of the suffixes which indicate caste but they are also naming their children with words relating not to the gods but to attributes or to natural objects.

    In one study the present writer (9) asked these questions involving caste consciousness in social relationships :

1. When you meet a person do you like to know his caste and religion ?
2. Do you speak freely to a person whose caste and religion you have not been able to ascertain and guess ?
3. Do you generally ask a person his name to find out his caste and religion ?

" It is a common experience in the South to ascertain directly or indirectly the caste and creed of a person so that he can be ' placed '. There will be considerable restraint in conversation if clues are not available. Generally the name gives the whole information... 4/5ths of the group assert that they do not bother about the caste and creed of a person they meet. With respect to the second question only 34 persons out of 501 declared that they are unable to speak to those whose caste and creed they `have not been able to ascertain and guess. On the other hand with respect to the third question it was found that as many as 132 persons (22.3%) said that they tried to ascertain the caste and creed by asking the person's name. The breakdown showed that 29.2% of the students of the colleges in the smaller towns asserted that they generally ask for the name of an individual to find his caste and religion. The non-Brahmin Hindus who form the bulk of the population appear to be the least conscious of caste and creed, probably because they meet a large number of their own kind whereas Christians and Muslims who form a minority are more acutely conscious of caste and creed. This is a hypothesis worth investigating further. Does a sense of insecurity based on smallness of number lead to a heightening of group consciousness? When a person belonging to a minority group meets a new person he wants to find out to which group he belongs probably because he finds himself at greater ease with this knowledge than without it. If he can thus " place " the other man he knows what to expect from and how to react to him " (9.198).

Yet another characteristic of the stereotype is that it is group-shared. Stereotypes are socially standardised concepts concerning other groups. They make it possible for the members of the group to communicate with each other quickly and efficiently about the other groups. Thus we find social norms within any group come to include more

or less standardised meanings about the other groups. However, though these stereotypes are convenient and time-saving they are not accurate because they are based on over-categorisation and over-generalisation. They ignore the individual differences within the group. Often times these stereotypes are learnt during childhood. They are not based on any personal experience and even when the personal experience is against the group-shared stereotype the normal tendency would be to resist the change. So there will not be restructuring and reframing of the stereotype. On the other hand when personal experiences are in line with the stereotypes shared with the group then they will be reinforced and strengthened. This is why the personal experience will either be ignored or looked upon as an exception. For example, the Hindu may say " that Muslim is a fine fellow. He is not like a Muslim at all ", or the Muslim may say " that Hindu is so unique ; he is very broad-minded ". Thus while recognizing that the individual experience is contrary to the group-shared stereotype there is at the same time a reinforcement of the group stereotype by telling that the personal experience is only an exception and thus it proves the rule. There will also be an emotional resistance to change the stereotype. The most cruel act in the history of humanity is the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a Hindu because Gandhi spoke of the Muslims and reacted to the Muslims contrary to the stereotype concerning the Muslims. So we become enraged when a member of our group tries to make us realise the falsity of our stereotypes concerning the other group.

As we have noted earlier the great advantage of this stereotype is that with one cue we are able to understand something about the whole individual. For example, by perceiving the skin colour of an individual we will immediately come to the conclusion not only that the given individual is a Negro or a Harijan but that he is dirty, superstitious, unintelligent and so on. These attributes regarding personality, intelligence, morals will all be included in the stereotyped perceptions. Similarly when we learn about the nationality of a person or his occupation this one cue will lead us to call to our mind the full stereotyped perceptions about that group.

In 1932 Katz and Braly (10) gave a list of 84 traits, which they had obtained from the students themselves on a previous occasion, and asked each subject to select 5 traits as being the most typical of the various national groups. They found a high degree of consistency among the students in assigning traits to various national groups.   For example, 84% asserted that Negroes were superstitious and 75% that they were lazy.   With respect to Jews 79% asserted that they were mercenary.   As regards Americans 48% said that they were industrious and 47% that they were intelligent. Thus stereotype shows that they attribute unfavourable traits to the outgroups and favourable traits to the ingroup. When we attribute desirable traits to our own group this is an illustration of ethno-centrism.   Long ago Sumner (11) referred to ethno-centrism as the " view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything and all others are scaled with reference to it...each group nourishes its own object and affinity, boasts its superiority, exalts its divinity and looks with contempt on outsiders ".

When we do not like the other group we attribute unfavourable traits to them.   As Sherif remarks " in fact stereotypes can be taken as one index of social distance... the favourableness or unfavourableness of stereotypes attributed to the different groups varies in terms of their position on the social distance scale ". (4.653).   Because we do not 'like a group we build up a social distance towards them and this acts and reacts on the pictures in our mind regarding that group.   The more unfavourable the trait we attribute to a group, the greater the social distance and vice-versa.

Do stereotypes change with time ?   In 1950 Gilbert (12) repeated the study of Katz and Braly on under-graduates in the same University (Princeton).   Even though there was a difference of 18 years between the two studies it was found that the characteristics most frequently checked in 1932 were also most frequently checked in 1950.   But there was what Gilbert calls " the fading effect ".   Though the same traits were checked there was a decrease in the percentage of people checking the trait.   For example, Italians were looked upon as artistic by 53% in 1932 and by only 28% in 1950.   Similarly while 44% looked upon Italians as impulsive in 1932 only 19% gave the same attribute in

1950. While 47% looked upon Turks as cruel in 1932 only 12% gave the same attribute in 1950. Though the chief stereotypes regarding the Negroes were ' supersitious ' and ' lazy ', the traits were checked by less than half as many students in 1950 as in 1932. Thus we find that though the stereotypes remained the same through 18 years, they were considerably weakened. Many students did not like to take part in 1950 study. One person wrote " I refuse to be a part of a childish game like this...I can think of no distinguishing characteristics that will apply to any group as a whole ". There may be several reasons for this weakening of the stereotypes. Because of the improvements in communications each group has more contact with and more information about other groups. Further the studies of the social sciences themselves may have brought about a change in the outlook of the students. Whereas the students in a previous generation accepted unquestioningly the stereotypes communicated by others in the ingroup, the younger students appear to have a very sceptical attitude towards stereotypes. It may also be due to the wider use of inter-cultural education in the schools. In several elementary schools in America foreigners from Asia and Africa are invited to meet the children and speak to them about their own countries, thus helping the children to learn about other countries and other groups out of their personal experiences.

But we should not expect any dramatic changes on the basis of personal experiences. As we have seen above personal experiences may be used to reinforce the prejudice by being looked upon as exceptions to the rule. Lapiere (13) found that the stereotype concerning the Armenians in California was that they were " dishonest, lying and deceitful ". He tried to find out whether there was any objective evidence to justify this belief. He found that the Merchants Association had records to show that Armenians had good credit. He also found that Armenians had rarely applied for charity from the state and appeared in very few legal cases. Thus there was no ascertainable basis in fact for this stereotype. It might have started with the early Armenian peddlers in that area who had these attributes and they persisted inspite of the actual changes in the behaviour of the group. We can easily find illustrations

like this form the castes and creeds in Indian society. As Allport defines it, "Whether favourable or unfavourable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belief asserted with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category" (2.191). "The stereotype acts both as a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group and as a screening or selecting device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking" (2.192). The stereotype depends upon intensity and direction of prejudice. "The Russian, judged at a time when the Soviet government and the United States were wartime allies, was seen as rugged, brave and patriotic. Within a few years the picture changed so that he appeared fierce, aggressive, fanatic" (2.204). Thus as our attitude towards the other group changes, the stereotypes also change.

Factors in the formation of ingroup

As we have seen above prejudice is revealed in the social distance at which the members of one group keep the members of another group. In order to understand this problem of social distance it would be better to recall some outstanding features of the formation of ingroups. Each human being has affiliations with his family, his caste, his village, his language group, his religious sect, his nationality and so on. This membership of one's group is basic to our existence. Otherwise we are *purushapasus.* We become human beings with foresight and understanding, because we are socialized by our parents, our relatives, our teachers and others. For a man, his parents, his birth place, however humble or exalted it is, his religion, his language all these are *good.* He is born into them. They are given to him. They are like the air that he breathes. He takes them for granted. Generally it is believed that the love of the parents, the neighbourhood and other groups is the result of the rewards. Because his family feeds him, looks after him and gives him security, he learns to love them. But according to Allport, "A child who has plenty of fun at a family reunion may be more attached there-after to his own clan because of the experience. But normally he would be attached to his clan anyway, simply because it is an inescapable part of his life. Few of our group memberships

seem to be sustained by the pleasure they provide...it takes a major unhappiness, a prolonged and bitter experience, to drive us away from loyalties once formed. And sometimes no amount of punishment can make us repudiate our loyalty...The self could not be itself without them" (2.30).

Thus according to Allport we adhere to our own families, clans, castes, linguistic groups, ethnic groups because that is the ground of our existence. We came from there and that is the basis of our existence. Even when a person feels unhappy or miserable in his village or in his caste group he does not abandon it. A few years ago when the writer was at Harvard University, he met a Negro gentleman from a Southern American State. He spoke about the humiliations of the Negro in the South, about the handicaps, how his children were unable to move with the white children with equality. In contrast he said that his life at Harvard was so different. He was able to get a house in the midst of the white people. His children were mixing with the white children in the neighbourhood. This was an astonishing experience for him. He was a teacher. When asked why he does not give up his state and come and live in Harvard, he said that he could never think of giving up his home. This is a typical human situation. The persecuted group never desires to give up the place of its birth. Particularly so in a country like India, where it is only in recent years that there is population mobility. Several Muslims who went to Pakistan when that state was formed now feel miserable that they are cut off from the neighbourhood where they were born and brought up. In a similar way the Indian who migrates from one state to another state in pursuit of a career always speaks with regret that he was unable to find a suitable job in the state of his origin. It is true that people migrate; but it is also true that they continue to have a love and a yearning for the place from which they came. It is only the children of the next generation that develop new affiliations and feel that they belong to the place in which they were brought up. But still they have traces of love for the old stock or linguistic group from which they came.

"In every society on earth the child is regarded as a member of his parent groups. He belongs to the same race,

stock, family, tradition, religion, caste and occupational status " (2.31). Thus the individual as well as the family tends to have a strong ingroup feeling and so he will not forsake the group or migrate from the area. In every city in India we find that new localities are springing up with better roads, better houses and other facilities. Still we find that the old families with their ancestral homes in the middle of the city will not move out though they may be owning houses in the new extensions. The very same process that is responsible for the ingroup formation is also responsible for the outgroup formation and social distance. In our villages and in our towns we find that the more prosperous and more cultured groups live around the centre and as we go farther and farther from the centre we find that the less privileged groups construct their homes until at last the Harijans live at the outskirts of the village or the town. This was the old pattern. But in the new cities we find that with the rapid increase in population, extensions are formed and the homes of the middle class or of the upper-classes may be beyond the homes of Harijans. This is one of the important reasons why the attitudes towards the Harijans have changed very quickly in the cities while they are quite rigid and active in the villages and the small towns where even to-day the Harijans are living at the outskirts.

Before proceeding further it would be useful to discuss some of the aspects of the problem of the formation of ingroups. As we have just now seen in a static society like in the village, kinship, status, sense of responsibility etc., are almost rigidly prescribed. But in a mobile society particularly in our cities, which are growing bigger and bigger, there is no such rigidity. Thus the nature and the composition of the ingroup varies with the dynamic or the static character of the group as a whole. In a static group the membership of the ingroup is more rigidly prescribed and so the individual cannot shift his membership to other groups. On the other hand in a more dynamic society where the group membership is not rigidly prescribed the individual may belong to a number of organizations. But, membership of certain groups is essential ; for example, the child is regarded as a member of his parents' groups. So he belongs to the same race, caste, class, religion etc., as

his father. When he grows old and particularly if he lives in a more mobile group he may escape from some of the memberships but not all. The boy who belongs to the barber's caste would have to take the barber's occupation if he lives in the village. If he takes up any other occupation he will meet with disapproval from his own caste group in the village as well as from the other caste groups. On the other hand if he goes to a school and obtains general education, and also obtains some professional education he may not take up his caste occupation (14). He may become a teacher or a doctor. Thus the status of an individual is of two varieties : (a) there is the *ascribed* status which the individual gets because he is born in a particular family belonging to a particular group. (b) There is the *achieved* status depending upon the education of the individual, his ability, his character and achievements. As the society becomes more and more dynamic, the membership of the ingroups depending on achievement, will become more important and significant than the membership which is based upon his birth and upbringing. It may be said that one of the important aspects of the Indian Constitution is the stress on the *achieved* status in contrast to the stress on *ascribed* status which existed for thousands of years in Indian society. According to the Constitution no individual can be discriminated against on the basis of his caste group, sex and such other considerations.

Thus, in the olden days membership of a small ingroup like that of the clan was the most significant. With the development of society, membership on the basis of clan, class, caste, and so on become less significant and membership of the race, the nation or the commonwealth becomes more significant. We have already seen that the ancient Indian concept of the *ashramadharma* has taken note of this essential character in the development of an individual. In the *Brahmacharyaashrama* the individual belongs to the group into which he is born and he conducts himself so that his potentialities find an expression. On the basis of his education and training he enters into a profession, marries and sets up a home. He now belongs to a larger number of ingroups depending upon his achievement. But finally in the *Sanyasaashrama* he gives up his affiliation to all the various ingroups and now becomes a member of the

ingroup which includes the entire humanity. So, for the Sanyasi there is no outgroup whatever. All human beings, in fact, all living beings become one ingroup and he looks upon them all with the same attitude, *samadarsinah* (Bhagavad Gita, V, 18).

However, though the human beings in different countries and in different cultures are trying to outgrow the narrow limitations of the old formations, still they are unable to develop a world outlook. Ancient Indian thought itself had realised that very few individuals can rise up to the stature where they can look upon the entire humanity as an ingroup. It is not possible for a whole group which identifies itself and differentiates itself on the basis of colour, creed, or culture to develop this universalistic attitude. Consequently, the fears, loyalties and rivalries have now been shifted from the primitive clan level to the modern ideological level. So whole groups of nations and races join together to form an ideological block which looks upon members of the other ideological block as members of the outgroup. The notion " if you are not with us then you are against us " becomes strong and so the members of the other ideological block, as well as the members of the other groups which have not aligned themselves, will all be looked upon with suspicion and hatred.

We have to realise the ingroup membership is not a permanently fixed feature. There are certain ingroup memberships which are permanent, but certain others are not permanent. For example, one's membership within a family is a permanent membership. Though the individual may migrate into other areas he will still have affiliation with the village in which he was born, with the family in which he was born, with the group in which he was brought up. These affiliations may be so strong that he may come back and settle down in his village after the age of retirement. It is possible that he may be disillusioned. There may be a conflict in him as well as between him and the other members of his family. Anyway this illustrates the strength of the affiliation. But the other ingroup memberships may be given up more easily, and he may become a member of a new group depending upon his education, his interests, his wealth, his profession, his status etc. In fact in a city there are so many voluntary organiza-

tions into which he can enter as a member. Each organization will have its own rules and regulations. If he is qualified he can become a member of these new groups or he may himself start a new group and get likeminded people to become members of this new group. So there is no end to the possibilities of change of membership. But the basic thing is that the ingroup feeling, the sense of belonging, is a highly personal matter. One may be a member of an ingroup socially but psychologically he may feel that he is not a member of that ingroup. For example, a man may belong to a caste group but he may not like to look upon himself as a member of that caste. He may repudiate the entire caste system with all its implications. -Similarly a man may belong to a professional group, but he may not like the work that he is doing, and the other colleagues in that profession. His interests may be in other directions. This may lead to a clash between his membership of a particular profession and his personal interests. For example, by profession a man may be an engineer but by interests he may develop affiliations with some artistic or economic or scientific groups. Such an individual will work as an engineer but his whole interest may be with a non-engineering group. He may have to face a number of struggles because of this conflict, or he may develop a series of compromises so that he avoids being a victim to the conflicts. Thus the ingroup membership is not permanently fixed.

Nor is it necessary that an individual should have direct acquaintance with all the members of the ingroup. He may know intimately the members of his family and some others in the ingroup. He may know his classmates and his school fellows by personal contacts or merely by name. Other members of the ingroup, whether it is of caste or class or nation, he may know only indirectly. Thus personal acquaintance and intimate relationship are neither necessary nor possible in all the ingroups, particularly when these ingroups become very large as with respect to caste, class, creed, nationality, race and so on.

Thus, the feeling of belongingness to an ingroup depends upon symbols and upon hearsay. No one can have direct knowledge of all the members of one's group. Still one feels a certain belongingness to one's religion and so there are close affiliations. Consequently when a stranger from

another state or another country who belongs to the same religion writes to one, he may be received with great affection though probably that is the first and only occasion that these two members ever meet. Similarly, the child identifies himself with his family merely on the basis of hearsay. He may not have seen his parents much less his grand-parents and great grand-parents. The Hindu, when he offers oblations to his forefathers at the *shraddha* ceremony, he has to recall the names of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather and offer symbolic food to these *pitrus*, though he may never have had any personal contact with any of them. In this way the *shraddha* ceremony tries to make an individual feel that he belongs to a family with certain noble traditions. This makes him a member of an ingroup with a past and with a future and thus makes him develop a certain attitude of responsibility to preserve it by good behaviour, by bringing up his children properly so that the fair name of his family is perpetuated and enhanced. Similarly, one cherishes one's caste membership on the basis of the symbols and the hearsay. " The words he hears provide him just as authentic a ground for his life as do his daily experiences. By symbols one learns family traditions, patriotism and racial pride. Thus ingroups that are only verbally defined may be nonetheless firmly knit " (2.31). The ingroup is powerfully influenced by verbal definitions. These verbal definitions may be based upon tradition or they may be only created, because of the needs of the individuals or of the groups. For example, the U.N.O. is a verbally defined group whose ideals are believed in by the members who value their membership of that organization. It can be strong and powerful only so long as the members have faith in the verbal definitions. Otherwise the U.N.O. may go the way of the League of Nations. In India, for instance, the caste group is purely a matter of traditions. It is upon the basis of certain conformities that groups are identified. It is because the members cherish these traditions ·that caste continues as an ingroup formation. The Harijan is as proud of his caste, as the Brahmin is of his. It is only when a person renounces caste for other kinds of affiliations that the influence of caste membership may grow weak. To give another illustration, inspite of the distance, inspite of differences in languages and beliefs, the people

of India look upon the whole country as one because every child learns the names of all the rivers, of the hills, and the places of pilgrimage in this vast land. Thus though there was diversity in the political and administrative fields, though there is diversity in language, still there is an underlying basic unity so that from times immemorial whether a person lived in Kashmir or Kanyakumari he felt that he was an Indian.

The ingroup membership thus, is based upon the sense of belonging, the ' we ' feeling. When all the individuals look upon themselves as members of that particular group, there is the development of the sense of belonging. However, we should not mislead ourselves that this ingroup feeling is the same in all the members. History has shown, personal experiences show, that any group can be pulled down effectively only by the members of that same group. The bitterest enemy is not a member of the outgroup, so much as a member of the ingroup. It was the Greeks who gave hemlock to Socrates, it was an American who shot Abraham Lincoln, it was a Hindu who shot Gandhi. So, the mere fact of ingroup membership does not imply that there is an undifferentiated uniform feeling of affiliation to every member of the ingroup. The greatest hostility is between the people who love each other. No two people can become more bitter enemies than the husband and wife, or the brother and brother or sister, or the parent and child. So the mere fact of ingroup membership does not imply that there is freedom from jealousy and rivalry within the group. The thief in a gang is more frightened that a member of the gang may betray him, than that a member of the police organization may discover him. Similarly the labour union which is on strike is more afraid of sabotage from within, than of being crushed from without. Every country today is more afraid of the fifth column within, than of the enemy without.

So we should not mislead ourselves into thinking that all the members of an ingroup perceive each other in the same way and have love for each other. Rivalries and jealousies may lead to a good deal of hostility among the members within the group.

Sherif and Sherif (15) have introduced the concept of Reference Group in order to explain differences within the

group. They have defined the reference groups as " those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically ". Thus, within the ingroup there is a reference group which is warmly accepted by the individual and with which the individual wishes to be included or a reference group may be outside the ingroup. For example, many educated Indians look upon the British, the Americans and other Western nations as a reference group. During the days before independence the ideal of a highly educated Indian was to send his child to England so that he could study there and become a small " Englishman ". For example, Nehru had his high school as well as college education in England. Similarly, Aurabindo Ghosh had his entire education from the elementary stage to the college level in England. He became thoroughly Indian in his outlook after he returned from England and has written many books expounding Indian culture. Even after independence, there is a great deal of eagerness on the part of highly educated Indians to send their children to the convents conducted by the Westerners or by Indian Christian missionaries. As a matter of fact in many cities many convents have been established in the post-independence years because of this need. Similarly our large programmes of industrialisation are based on the American or the British model. So, the outgroup itself may serve as a reference group. Similarly a certain section of the ingroup may serve as a reference group. In many parts of the country the Hindus of the other castes look upon the Brahmin caste as the reference group ; particularly in the South, there is a double attitude towards the Brahmin group among the other castes : they want to imitate them and at the same time they are hostile to them. Similarly in the North, particularly in the cities like Lucknow and Delhi or in Hyderabad the reference group were the Muslims. The Hindu would look down upon the Muslim but still imitate him in dress, customs and manners. Consequently we cannot agree with Sherif and Sherif that a reference group always implies a warm acceptance which serves as a model. It need not necessarily lead to warm affiliations. As Freud pointed out long ago there may be an ambivalent attitude towards the reference group, or a complete identification. Many castes

in the South have tried to elevate themselves by adding the word Brahmin to their caste name and by putting the sacred thread and reciting the *gayathri* at the dawn and in the evening. Such groups not only have the Brahmin group as the model but they also have love and admiration for them. There are also non-Brahmin groups which have the Brahmin group as a model and at the same time are hostile to them. Among the former there may be, what Kurt Lewin has called, "self-hate" because they want to be like the members of the reference group, they may develop a hatred and contempt for their own ingroup, their own caste. They may suffer from serious conflict because they would like to be incorporated with the reference group but they are forced to live as members of their own caste group and so they may tend to dislike the members of their caste groups. To an extent we find this among the educated Harijans in India.

Social distance

As we have noted above prejudice is revealed in social distance. It is the distance at which members of a prejudiced group hold another group and its members. The concept of social distance was first used by the sociologist Park (16) when he was describing the observed fact that the relative intimacy and understanding between the members of the different groups vary. In 1924 Bogardus (17) developed a scale to measure social distance. He asked the respondents to indicate to which of the following steps they would admit members of the various groups in United States:

1. to close kinship by marriage,
2. to my club as personal chums,
3. to my street as neighbours,
4. to employment in my occupation,
5. to citizenship in my country,
6. as visitors only to my country,
7. would exclude from my country.

Thus Bogardus devised a list of statements which represented the varying degrees of social intimacy or distance. He asked the subjects to indicate the classification to which they would willingly admit members of a given group. It has

been found that throughout the United States people belonging to different racial groups have given a remarkably similar picture of social distances for the national ethnic groups which compose the population of United States. Americans, irrespective of their ethnic group generally asserted that the English and the Canadians were the most acceptable people as citizens, as neighbours, as social equals, and as kinsmen. In other words all the various American groups have the least social distance to the English and the Canadians. On the other hand all of them agree to put at the other extreme the Hindus, the Turks and the Negroes. In between these two groups the Southern and Eastern European nations are placed. Now this general pattern of the social distance appears to be unaffected by factors like space and time and race in the United States. Students from all parts of the United States give substantially the same picture of the group of the various races. It has also been found that this social distance persists through time. Bogardus (18) obtained the first measure in 1926 and the second measure in 1946. The respondents varied in age from 18 to 35 years and varied in profession, though the people from the skilled and the professional people were somewhat over-represented. He found " the population groups to which the great nearness was expressed in 1926... maintained this role for the most part in '1946... likewise the groups which were placed at the greatest distance in 1926 maintained this position with only one major exception, the Chinese in 1946. It is likewise true that the groups which occupied the middle positions in the scale in 1926 were accorded similar positions in 1946 ". Hartley (19) and Spoerl (20) also found similar results in 1946 and 1951 respectively. Thus, we find the operation of the concept of reference group with respect to social distance in United States. Individuals irrespective of their race, income, education and occupation have the same pattern of social distance. The only difference is with respect to the position given by the minority ethnic groups to themselves, for example, the Jewish individuals would give the Jews a high place but for all the other groups they would give the same pattern as the reference group, namely, the White Protestant majority. In the same way an Italian or a Greek would place his group very high but would put all the other groups according to the prevailing pattern. Thus

21

the members of an ethnic minority tend to fashion their attitudes in conformity with the members of the dominant majority. Only the conformity does not extend to the point of repudiating his own ingroup. Consequently he places his group high up while retaining the rest of the pattern.

In 1951 the present writer (21) used a modification of Bogardus' social distance test among the students in Madras State. The respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they would admit Brahmins, Christians, Harijans, higher caste non-Brahmins, lower caste non-Brahmins, Muslims, Parsis and Sikhs to the following social relationships:

1. to kinship by marriage,
2. to take food in your own dining room,
3. as an intimate personal friend,
4. as a guest in your house,
5. as your neighbour,
6. as an acquaintance.

They were asked to indicate their preferences regarding each group as a whole and not with reference to any particular individual of that group. It was found that 107 subjects out of 591 (18.1%) indicated that they would admit any one of the groups mentioned to any degree of social intimacy (10.8% women and 21.7% men), 80% of the students indicated varying degrees of social distance and 1.9% (11) did not give any response.

On the basis of the number of times the various groups were admitted to the various social relationships the social distance was calculated. The greater number of "Yes" responses for the group the nearer is the relationship to it and the smaller the number of "Yes" responses the farther the group. On the basis of the distribution of the preference responses the following table (see next page) has been drawn up indicating the social distances existing among the groups examined.

We find that each group ranks itself as the first in the order of preference. We further find that in general the higher caste non-Brahmins are given the relatively higher position by all the four groups. As regards the Brahmins we find that the respondents who are not Brahmins have given them a low position so that in the total preference

Order of preference	Brahmins		Non-Brahmins		Christians	Muslims	For the Group as a whole (473)
	Men (80)	Women (75)	Men (168)	Women (54)	(69)	(30)	
First	Brahmin	Brahmin	H.C.N.B.	H.C.N.B.	Christian	Muslim	H.C.N.B.
Second	H.C.N.B.	H.C.N.B.	L.C.N.B.	Christian	Muslim	Christian	Christian
Third	Christian	Christian	Christian	L.C.N.B.	H.C.N.B.	H.C.N.B.	Brahmin
Fourth	Parsi	Parsi	Harijan	Parsi	Harijan	L.C.N B.	L.C.N.B.
Fifth	Sikh	L.C.N.B.	Brahmin	Muslim	L.C.N.B.	Parsi	Harijan
Sixth	L.C.N.B.	Sikh	Parsi	Brahmin	Parsi	Brahmin	Parsi
Seventh	Harijan	Harijan	Sikh	Harijan	Sikh	Harijan	Muslim
Last	Muslim	Muslim	Muslim	Sikh	Brahmin	Sikh	Sikh

NOTE : 1. The numbers within the brackets give the frequency.

2. H. C. N. B. and L. C. N. B. stand for the higher and lower caste non-Brahmins respectively.

FIGURE 1

SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

| | BRAHMIN | | NONBRAHMIN | | MUSLIM | CHRISTIAN |
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN		
1	Brahmin	Brahmin	HCNB	HCNB	Muslim	Christian
2			LCNB			
3						
4						
5						
6						
7			Xian			
8					Xian	
9	HCNB					
10				Xian		
11		HCNB	Harj.		HCNB LCNB	
12				LCNB	Parsi	Muslim
13	Xian Parsi	Xian			Brah.	
14	Sikh		Brah. Prasi			HCNB
15	LCNB	Parsi				
16		LCNB		Parsi		Harj. LCNB Parsi
17	Harj.	Sikh	Sikh	Musl. Brah.	Harj.	
18	Musl.	Harj. Musl.	Musl.	Harj. Sikh	Sikh	Sikh Brah.

NOTE: 1. HCNB—Higher Caste Non-Brahmin.
        LCNB—Lower Caste Non-Brahmin.

      2. The figure shows the relative positions of the different groups according to the number of times they have been preferred.

they get only the third position. On the other hand the Christians get the second position in the group as a whole because they are given high preference by the Brahmins, non-Brahmins as well as Muslims. All the groups, except the Christians, give a lower place to the Harijans, than to the lower caste non-Brahmin group. We find that Muslims are given the last place by the Brahmins as well as the non-Brahmins, with the exception of the non-Brahmin women, who have given the fifth place to the Muslims. On the whole we find that the Parsis, the Muslims and the Sikhs are placed at the lower end of the scale. On p. 324 social distance is given graphically. The method adopted was : first preference and the last preference were fixed at the two ends and the intermediate groups were put in between. This helps us to see how the outgroups are spaced far away from the ingroup in each case. We find that the next preferred group after the ingroup is far away in every case except among the non-Brahmin men who give a relatively close place to the lower caste non-Brahmins. This is the case, among the higher caste as well as the lower caste non-Brahmins.

Hostile action

So far in our analysis of prejudice we have seen that there are two factors operating. We first took up the cognitive factor and showed how there will be a set of beliefs concerning the group towards which there is prejudice. We found that on the basis of the traditions in the group as well as on the basis of personal experiences certain stereotypes developed and we have seen that the beliefs expressed in these stereotypes are very persistent and that they resist any kind of a change.

Secondly, prejudice manifests itself in an attitude unfavourable to the other group. This is of the essence of social distance. The prejudiced group keeps the other groups at varying distances depending upon the intensity of the unfavourableness of attitude towards that group. Here also, personal experiences generally do not alter the social distance. Further, the group pressure will be so great that it is very difficult for an individual to give up social distance. If he gives up social distance, then he may himself be vic-

timised by the group. This is why for thousands of years the social distance towards the Harijans and the lower caste Hindus have persisted inspite of the attempts particularly by Buddhism, Vaisnavism and Saivism and other such religious groups to discover saints among the Harijans and the lower caste Hindus. Still social distance as well as the stereotype regarding this group have persisted and are active even today in the villages, inspite of the articles of the Constitution which are against the practice of any kind of discrimination.

We can now proceed to study the third aspect of prejudice, namely, action. Over and above the beliefs which are enshrined in these stereotypes and the attitudes which are manifest in social distance, under certain circumstances there will be hostile action towards the prejudiced groups. As we have seen above neither stereotypes nor social distances necessarily lead to hostile action. Thus prejudice does not inevitably lead to hostility. It may just stop with a certain belief regarding the outgroup or a social distance towards them.

Allport has given five steps to describe the range of activities that issue from prejudiced beliefs and attitudes : antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack and extermination (2.14). While one may agree with the last three items it is a matter for doubt whether antilocution, expresses greater hostility or avoidance. The present writer would put avoidance first and antilocution second. The five degrees of action arising out of prejudice may now be briefly described.

1. AVOIDANCE

Prejudice leads to social distance. Social distance not only creates a certain distance towards the group but when it is extreme it may lead to avoidance. Thus avoidance may be looked upon as the extreme expression of social distance. As Allport himself notes " the bearer of prejudice does not directly inflict harm upon the group he dislikes. He takes the burden of accommodation and withdrawal entirely upon himself " (2.14). Thus, when we dislike a group we may try to withdraw from the group. This is a mild expression of hostility towards the other group while at the same time it is a manifestation of extreme social distance.

However, this is a civilized way of expressing dislike. As we have seen above, the right kind of socialization should enable an individual to have a love towards all the various human groups. But if there is any failure in socialization so that this standard of conduct and feeling is not reached it is possible that the individual may entertain a prejudice against a group. Avoidance is the least harmful expression of that prejudice because it involves no harm or injury to the members of the other group.

2. ANTILOCUTION

When we have prejudice against another group, we tend to speak against that group, particularly when we meet like-minded individuals. It is possible that we may speak against the others even when we meet strangers who have nothing to do with either of the groups. In the opinion of the present writer this is a more hostile action than avoidance because there is injury done to the other group by decrying that group in season and out of season. The Muslim League for instance not only formed itself into a political group against the Indian National Congress but started speaking against the Congress as well as the Hindus who formed the majority in India. We find a similar tendency even in the social relationships of individuals. When two friends have some kind of misunderstanding, they may merely avoid each other for some time, but if the hostility is greater, then they may start speaking against each other with other mutual friends.

3. DISCRIMINATION

When the hostility is greater there may be discrimination. For example, the members of one group may prevent the members of other groups from employment. In some of the southern states of India we find such discrimination being practised among the various caste groups. So long as our cities and towns were small, and so long as there was not much pressure of the populations, the division of housing area worked satisfactorily. But with the increase in population the discriminatory practices became more pronounced. For example, because there was housing shortage and because the members of the Brahmin caste had houses in the good residential areas of a town or a city the other caste

groups realised that there was a practice of discrimination. The present writer asked this question : " To which of the following communities would you let your house if it falls vacant : Brahmins, high caste non-Brahmins, lower caste non-Brahmins, Harijans, Muslims, Christians ? " (9.195). It was found that 43.6% of the Brahmins (188), 54.5% of the non-Brahmins (290) 61.1% of the Muslims (36) and 48.1% of Christians (77) asserted that they would let out the house to any one. As against this 36.3% of Brahmins, 34.1% of non-Brahmins, 16.7% of Muslims and 6.8% of Christians asserted that they would let out the house only to the members of the same community. This practice of discrimination in the letting out of houses is one of the important reasons for generating caste tensions between the Brahmins and the other caste Hindus in the last few decades. This has lead to discriminations in employment. In many of the southern states of India there has been an attempt to reserve employment opportunities in the Government services to a very large extent among the non-Brahmin castes. This has extended also to the educational facilities. In the same investigation the following question was asked : " Should admission to colleges be on the basis of caste and creed ? " " As we have already seen certain sections of the community took to western education right from its inception in the middle of the last century. But other sections for various reasons did not take to education at all or to education in the western style. This led to a great disparity in the educational level of the various sections. After the first world war all sections began to feel the need for education. Since the professional colleges and science colleges were few, while a large number sought admission, it was found that the backward castes could get admission only when there was special reservation for them. But this idea militates against the notion that caste and creed should not be considered in pursuing a course of studies. Thus there is a conflict between the principle of equality and ideal of social justice. As this investigation was underway the Indian Constitution was amended in order to give power to the State Governments to take steps to regulate admission to the colleges so that the backward castes and creeds should get their due share " (9.198).

In response to this question it was found that the majority

of the group as a whole were against admission to the colleges on the basis of caste and creed. Only 17.3% of the group favoured it. The caste and creed breakdown revealed that 97.4% of the Brahmins, 65.9% of the non-Brahmins, 78% of the Christians and 55.6% of the Muslims were definitely against caste and creed being the basis of admission to the college. On the other hand 1.6% of the Brahmins, 24.1% of the non-Brahmins, 20.8% of the Christians and 36.1% of the Muslims were in favour of caste and creed being the basis for admissions. The rest of the groups either favoured that caste and creed should be the basis for some time or did not give any response at all. Thus, prejudice reveals itself in discrimination so that members of the other groups are prevented from employment, housing facilities, educational facilities, political rights and so on.

4. PHYSICAL ATTACK

There may be violence against the members of another group or against their property when there is heightened emotion. For example, during the 1930s and 1940s constantly there was violence and destruction of life and property because of the physical attacks in the communal conflicts. Similarly we find that in the 1940s and 1950s student-groups have been indulging in violent acts against the University property or the public property.

5. EXTERMINATION

This is the most extreme expression of hostility leading to a total extermination of the group as a whole. The Germans under Hitler tried to exterminate the Jews in Germany. Similarly during 1947—48 before and after partition in India the Hindus wanted to exterminate the Muslims and the Muslims wanted to exterminate the Hindus. This is the most violent expression of hostility.

The point that we have to bear in mind is that prejudice against a group or against an individual may lead logically from avoidance and antilocution to physical attack and finally to extermination. This is why indulging in attack against the group has to be restrained. If it is not restrained the continuous attack against a group will lead ultimately to physical action against the group and finally to extermination. So, the only way of ensuring against violence is to

prevent antilocution and antilocution can be prevented only when there is positive resistance to hatred in the minds of individuals. It is difficult to practise love for other people and the humanity as a whole, but it is not so difficult to train ourselves not to hate other individuals and groups. If we do not hate we will not speak against them and if we do not speak against them we will not physically attack them.

Methods of reducing prejudice

Prejudice, thus, arises out of the formation of unfavourable attitudes. So the problem of controlling prejudice resolves itself into the problem of the change of attitudes. In a previous chapter we have discussed this problem about the change of attitudes. We may close this chapter by making a brief reference to some of the important features regarding this problem. In India prejudices towards castes, linguistic groups, and occupational groups, have been of very long standing. There have been attempts right from the days of *Upanishads* and Buddha to control prejudice in the social relationships. Several methods were adopted and are being adopted in order to control prejudice. We may briefly refer to some of these in this section and determine the value of these methods that have been employed.

It must be remembered that prejudices are formed over a long period of time in the life of an individual as well as in the life of a group. Prejudices are traditional and they are socially transmitted. Consequently the prejudiced attitudes are a part of socialization of the individual. This is the reason why a prejudiced individual hardly looks upon himself as prejudiced. He looks upon his behaviour as a normal " natural " behaviour. It must also be realised that prejudices are internalised social norms and so they have an anchorage in the ego system. This is the reason why it is very difficult for an individual to give up his prejudices. Because of this long process in the formation of the prejudice in the group as a whole as well as in the individual we find that any piecemeal attempt to control prejudice cannot have much of a success. " Because attitudes are not formed in a piecemeal way attempts to change them through discrete information or specific exposure to this or that item have been highly unrewarding on the whole" (4.675). It must also

be borne in mind that changes in attitude will take a very
long time to be effective in the individuals as well as in the
group as a whole. A lack of realisation of this may intensify
the prejudices rather than decrease them. For example, the
Harijans, particularly the educated Harijans, are feeling
that the prejudices against the Harijans are yet surviving.
On the other hand, the non-Harijans are feeling that all the
old traditions are crumbling and that there has been too
rapid a change. Thus there are differences in social percep-
tion between the two groups. While one group is thinking
of the rapidity of change the other group perceives this
very same situation as a very slow change. This is analogous
to our perception of time. When we are waiting anxiously
minutes look like hours. But when we are happily engaged
in a social activity hours look like minutes.

It is often asserted that if there are more contacts between
the members of two prejudiced groups familiarity will bring
about friendliness and appreciation of each others' values.
But this is only superficially true. Increase in the number
of contacts may reinforce mutual appreciation or mutual
hostility. So it does not depend merely on the frequency of
contacts. It depends upon the conditions under which the
contacts are established. Even when the conditions are very
favourable it is possible that the prejudiced individual may
look upon the other individual as an exception and thus he
may not permit any change in his attitude towards the group
as a whole. Often times we hear remarks indicating that a
particular person is a very good person and is not typical
of the group at all. Remarks like though he is a "Brahmin"
he is a fine fellow or though he is a " Harijan " he is a very
enlightened person are quite frequent.

In India attempts have been made to reduce prejudice by
increasing the opportunities for education and employment
for the socially handicapped groups. These measures have
brought in their trail social injustice. When one social
injustice is set right it is possible that another social injustice
might be perpetrated. In the southern states of India
.while the non-Brahmins are getting facilities in admission
to the colleges, as well as in recruitment to the services, this
is operating against the Brahmin community. Because the
children of various caste groups study together there is a
greater tolerance today. But this should not mislead us into

thinking that all prejudices are eliminated. While the operation of prejudice in one area may be eliminated it is possible that prejudice may continue to operate in other areas. For example, the child of a higher caste may mix freely with the children of lower castes in the school, in the restaurant and in other places. But when he goes home he may behave in a prejudiced way. This is because he is now accepting two sets of social norms. He behaves in school or college in a liberal way because that is the social norm at the campus. But when he goes home he may act in a prejudiced way because that is in conformity with social norm at home. We may refer to another aspect of the problem. In the last two or three decades in the southern states many castes and creeds started their own free hostels because the members of the lower castes realised the value of education in uplifting the caste. They readily came forth with donations, so that facilities are offered to the children of that caste to get themselves educated. But this has brought about a greater prejudice to the outgroups. Particularly in the recent years the state itself has supported starting of a number of hostels for the Harijans. While the Harijan youth are getting facilities to get themselves educated, they are prevented from mixing freely with the youth of the other communities. Consequently attempts are now being made to see that there are no communal hostels, or at any rate no communal hostels are started by the state funds. The regulations are made so that about 10—20 per cent of the hostel admissions are reserved for the general community irrespective of caste and creed. This measure in the long run will bring about an improved attitude in the social relationships of caste and creed groups.

One of the important methods adopted to establish and perpetuate social distance is to have segregated residential areas. Attempts are now being made to see that there are no segregated residential areas. While living together in one residential area may lead to a reduction of prejudice, it must be realised that it may also lead to an increase in prejudice. So the person of a handicapped group who gets the housing facility in an area with social prestige may have to face a good deal of suffering before his family is accommodated and assimilated socially. Prejudices take a long time to die.

Attempts have also been made to eliminate prejudices by means of social legislation. In the Constitution itself it was laid down that in India no individual should be made to suffer on the basis of caste or sex. Mere social legislation itself will not succeed in reducing or eliminating prejudices. It must be realised that legislation has a very limited success to start with. Legislation can become socially effective only when it becomes a part of the social norm. The legal norm which is not a social norm will be an utter failure. But it must be realised that a piece of legislation like the removal of the disability of Harijans has a long history behind it. Apart from what people like Buddha, Ramanuja, Basaveswara and other social leaders had done in this country, the work of Gandhi prepared the way for the social legislation. However, for this social legislation to be effective there must be voluntary groups which take up this task and educate the public, so that the prejudices between the castes and particularly towards Harijans is eliminated.

Consequently we find that the only way of controlling prejudice is by bringing about changes in the social norms themselves. Prejudices against the Harijans will go only when such prejudiced behaviour is socially condemned. In other words, there should be a difference in social norm. What was the social norm, should now become something against the social norm. When a Harijan becomes an administrative officer his social prestige automatically goes up. He is a highly educated man. He is a man with an influential and respected appointment. He is now a man with a big income. All this will make him a person with high social prestige. On the other hand when people become conscious of his caste, they may have a double attitude towards this individual. The Harijan Administrative Officer should now understand the conflicts in the minds of the officials as well as the citizens. So he should not be sensitive to some of these expressions and manifestations of the conflict in the minds of the others. By ignoring them and being insensitive to them he will help the people to have a greater admiration for him. If, on the other hand, he becomes very sensitive he may find that he gets into more trouble and his life may become miserable. As Sherif puts it, " Lasting and consistent changes in attitudes toward outgroups can be expected (1) when individuals become psychologically relat-

ed to a new reference group with differing norms toward outgroups or (2) when the norms established in the individual's present reference group are changed " (4.674). This is where Gandhi had a very great insight into social behaviour and thus was able to succeed in bringing about a reform which resisted for thousands of years. The Congress Party which was nationalist became the reference group for the country as a whole. Leaders coming from various castes with high prestige because of their wealth and education and because of their renunciation and sacrifice shed all their prejudices against Harijans and treated the Harijans as brothers and respected members of the community. Identification with this reference group was able to transform the behaviour of the other groups, and this is one of the important reasons why we find that in the cities and towns of India untouchability, and other discriminatory practices against the Harijans are practically dead. It must, however, be realised that the members of the higher castes particularly the Brahmins, are now very liberal in their outlook towards the Harijans. On the other hand it is the members of the intermediate caste groups that are hostile to the uplift of the Harijans. The intermediate castes have two sets of prejudices. They are prejudiced against the Brahmins because they want to become equal in status with them. They are prejudiced against the Harijans because by this means they want to get social prestige for their own caste group. Very often we can feel superior only when we look down upon others as our inferiors. The disturbances in the Madras State in 1957 when there was a big conflict between the Thevars and Harijans is illustrative of this tendency.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SELF

Self as an integrating concept

WE CAN CONCLUDE this section on socialization with a brief chapter devoted to the problem of the development of the self. In the recent years the problem of self has come into the forefront in psychology because of the realisation of the need for an integrating concept to deal with individual's experience and behaviour. As Sherif puts, it " Without an integrating concept it is impossible to account for the *consistency* of the person and the day-to-day *continuity* of this consistency in his social and other relations " (1.597). We can outline the way in which the self develops in the social setting as a result of socialization, and the way in which an individual feels helpless if there is a disruption in his ego system due to changes in social relations. We can also briefly describe some of the effects of ego-involvements in relation to social relationships.

Self, the result of a long process

Recent work in social psychology, child development, as well as the study of the abnormal behaviour show that the self is the result of a long process. All the various experiences of the individual in relation to other persons, objects, groups, institutions and values lead to the development of the self. Further, self is not a simple unit. As Snygg and Combs pointed out, " Although we speak of the phenomenal self in the singular it should not be supposed that the phenomenal self is a *unit function*...it is composed of all meanings which the individual has about himself and his relation to the world around him " (2.78). An individual identifies himself with his family, religion, caste, country etc. and he speaks of *my* family, *my* flag, *my* office, *my* caste or he asserts I *am* an Indian, I *am* a Mysorean, I *am* a Bengali, I *am* a Muslim and so on. All such expressions reveal his ego attitudes. " What the person considers *him-*

self consists of interrelated ego attitudes. His personal goals, aspirations, expectations, stem from his ego attitudes" (1.580). As we have already seen an attitude brings about a consistency of behaviour. These ego attitudes bring about a consistency. There is a certain relationship among the various attitudes of an individual. As Murphy puts it " Empirically the organism's *wants*, and therefore its *attitudes* are legion ; and its awareness of these, whether vague or clear, is an awareness of a cluster of selves spatially and temporally overlapping and fusing with one another, dropping old phases, adding new ones " (3.489). Thus, the ego or the self is a developmental formation and it involves a number of attitudes towards other persons, objects etc. It is a developmental product. This is why there are cultural variations.

It is not a unitary structure

This view of self also helps us to understand why on certain occasions there may be conflicts in an individual and probably a breakdown. We find that constituent parts of the self are functionally interrelated; it is not a unitary structure. Integration of self is a slow, long and difficult process. The ancient Indians asserted that many births are necessary before an individual is well integrated. Thus the concept of reincarnation in Indian thought is a recognition of the difficulty of integration of personality. The self is not a finished product at birth but is something which develops and how it develops, what its constituent attitudes are, depend upon the family in which the individual is brought up with all the social norms of the group to which the family belongs and the education and the experience of an individual. The ancient Indian thinkers used the concept of *samskaras* to explain this aspect of the problem. To develop an integrated personality, an individual will have to overcome a number of tendencies which are as it were ingrained in him due to the social norms of the group in which he has been brought up. Thus the self system in an individual is only a sub-system. It is not the entire individual. There are many biogenic motives in an individual which he has to incorporate with the social norms of the group in which he has been brought up, and the

22

ideals which he learns to cherish because of his individual growth. As Freud has shown an individual's motives are in part unconscious. It is only as a result of a very great endeavour that it is possible for the person to integrate all the various biogenic and unconscious aspects of his personality with his self.

Three stages in the growth

In a broad way we may say that there are three stages in the growth of an individual. The child starts at birth with a number of biogenic motives like any other organism. The infant and child obtain satisfaction of all these biogenic motives. But unlike the other organisms the child is brought into social relationships with the mother and the other members of the family for the satisfaction of these biogenic motives. This involves the second stage in the growth of an individual. The satisfaction of the various biogenic motives will have to be in the context of the social norms of the group in which he has been brought up. This is what gives the cultural variations from group to group. Thus, the biological infant who has the same needs irrespective of the group in which he is born, with growth becomes a child who is definitely a member of the particular group because of the social norms which he has assimilated by growing up or by being brought up in the particular cultural group. Many individuals are unable to assimilate all the social norms of a given group. Informal as well as formal rules and regulations and laws will have to be brought into force to make an individual conform to the group codes. The individual has to learn to fulfil his status and role expectations in the group. Thus, the second stage of the development of an individual is itself a very long and difficult process. It becomes more difficult if the cultural level of the group is of a high order ; it is a more easy task when the individual is a member of groups with simpler cultures. It is the recognition of this fact that has lead to the existence of various groups in Indian culture which are at different levels of cultural development. Probably the present programmes of universal education and special facilities given to the backward castes as well as to

the rural areas may bring about a greater cultural uniformity throughout India. There is the third stage in the development of the individual where the individual transcends the culture of a particular group in which he has been brought up so that he becomes a genuine human being highly integrated and can feel perfectly at home in any cultural group. Such a man with a highly integrated personality will be free from the defects of ' *ego-centricism* ' as well as ' *ethno-centricism* '. He will neither be selfish and petty-minded in his behaviour towards other individuals and groups and institutions, nor will he be entertaining delusions about the uniqueness or the superiority of the culture of the group in which he happened to be born and brought up. Such an individual will in the true sense of the term be universal in his outlook so that he is unaffected by time, space and cultural peculiarities of the group in which he is born and brought up. Ancient Indian thinkers spoke of this stage in the growth of an individual as the stage of attaining the *moksha* or liberation from ego-centricism as well as from ethno-centricism.

The formation of self

During the present century a number of detailed observations have been made regarding the manner in which the child develops (4 and 5). Secondly, Freud and other psychoanalysts have made very detailed clinical studies of the way in which individuals have developed (6, 7 and 8). Thirdly, Gesell, Piaget and others (9, 10 and 11) have conducted studies on the development of children. As a result of all these various studies we have now a fairly coherent picture of the development of the self. We can attempt to give a picture of the development of the self on the basis of these studies.

It is now well established that the ego or the self is not innate. The child is born as a biological organism without any self. Self is a product of growth, a result of bio-socio-interaction. As we have seen above the self does not develop merely through the maturation of the organism outside the social environment. Itard, Kamala and Amala did not have any self corresponding to that of the children

of the same age who have been brought up in the human society (see Chapter IX). As Piaget puts it the infant in the earliest phase of his life lives in the state of ' undifferentiated absolute '. Freud has also drawn our attention to this. The momentary physiological needs of the child are very dominant. When he feels hungry or when he feels pain he starts shouting and it will stop only when his needs are attended to and satisfied. It is only with growth that the child realises that his wishes and whims can be satisfied only when he conforms to the society.

It is only with growth that the child differentiates between his body and its parts and the other objects. It is only through manipulation of his own hands and feet and other objects around him that the infant and the child differentiates between what is his body and what is not. Before long the infant discovers that there is a difference between hitting or biting external objects and hitting or biting parts of his own body. Further the child learns to differentiate between the individuals who care for him and the other individuals. Because his mother or grand-mother is responsible for his gratifications as well as his frustrations he responds to them in a selective fashion. Before long he recognizes his mother more or less and extends his arms towards her. In time he is able to differentiate between the various persons in the family on the basis of the differential treatment, facilitations' and resistances' which he receives from them. He finds out who receives him warmly and who ignores him or rejects him. These feelings and recognitions of acceptance and rejection serve as landmarks in the development of the self. These are incorporated into his self and they leave a permanent mark on the individual as clinical studies have well established. The child who experienced indifference or rejection will grow up to be a man with suspicion, bitterness and aggressiveness or withdrawal.

By the time the child is two years old he learns his own sex and he finds that certain attributes and activities go along with being a boy or being a girl. This leads to identification with the conception of one's own sex ; otherwise there will be difficulties in ego formation. The boy who behaves like a girl or the girl who has an ambition to be a boy will be maladjusted when they grow up.

The influence of language

All these aspects of growth are accelerated and facilitated by the acquisition of language. It is because the child learns to speak and understand when others speak to him that he is able to place himself and other people in the family as well as in the neighbourhood into certain categories with certain values. This is how he imbibes the stereotypes about his own family and his ingroup as well as the stereotypes about the outgroups. It is again through language that he learns to value his toys, his family, his school, his village and so on. Further, language helps him to extend himself from the present to the past. It is through language and particularly in a Hindu home, because of certain rituals and ceremonials connected with ancestors, that the child learns that his family had a long past and he has glimpses, through the verbal communications, of the dead grand-parents or great-grand-parents. Similarly it is through language that the child learns that the present consists not only of his experiences at the moment but also of the objects and individuals and events which are outside the pale of his experience. So the present is not confined to the actual experience. Particularly today with radio and other means of mass communication, the individual is aware of the happenings in various parts of the country as well as various parts of the world at the very moment the events are happening. Finally, it is through language again that the child learns about the future. He forms a more or less clear picture of what he wants to be. He is impatient that he is unable to go to the school like his elder brother or sister. He is impatient that he is unable to go to the office or factory like his father. All these help to develop a picture, more or less clear, of what he wants to be when he grows up. Thus it is that social experience enables the individual to learn about the past, present and future and to develop a consistency in his behaviour.

Internalization of external rules

In his study of the way in which the children acquire the rules of the game, Piaget (11) has shown that the child first accepts the rules which are handed down to it from the

elders. This is what he calls heteronomy. He conforms to these rules as external rules. But he may not follow these rules very sacredly. He may yield to his desires and overlook the rules of the games particularly when he is not exposed to social pressures. Thus, the rules are at this stage external. They are not yet interiorised as ego-attitudes ; with growth the child learns to interiorise these standards. This is a major step towards autonomy. He now enters into group relations with others not on the basis of external rules but of internal rules : rules which are part of his self. We can see the resemblances here in the behaviour of adults. For many adults the police regulations are external. They conform to them because of the fear of the punishment but when they are sure that they will not be detected they will throw overboard the traffic rules as well as the laws governing property and laws governing injury to other human beings. When an individual matures, these rules will be interiorised. He conforms to these rules not because they are external but because they become an internal necessity. This is the difference between the man who conforms to rules on the basis of fear of authority and the man who conforms to the rules by having made these rules his own. Similarly in religion also we find that most of the individuals in a society look upon religious observances as external, as based upon authority. It is only very few individuals that look upon these religious rules as autonomous, as issuing from within, so that they live according to these rules, not because of external pressures, fear of authority, or the fear of society and the neighbours, but because they are convinced that these rules and regulations are their own, or part of the self, autonomous.

Perceptual and conceptual levels of self

Studies have shown that the earliest ego attitudes are formed in relation to one's body and its parts. The child first differentiates its body and the parts of its body from the other objects. Thus, to start with, the notion of the self is on the perceptual level. What is mine and what is not mine is based upon the perceptions. With growth the child attains the conceptual level. The ego attitudes will now pertain to the family, the school, the creed, the club

and so on. The child, with growth, differentiates between the ingroup and the outgroup. He is able to find out the differences in attributes between the ingroup and the outgroup. Thus we find the paradox : the child's notion of himself is universal to begin with, undifferentiated ; with differentiation he is able to recognize the difference between his body and the other bodies and objects. With further growth he is able to differentiate between his group and . the outgroups. It is only with a good deal of further effort that he will be able to outgrow this conceptual ingroup-outgroup difference and reach a higher conceptual level where he looks upon the whole human society as an ingroup so that again he reaches a stage of non-differentiation. As we have already seen (Chapter IX) in the ancient Indian concept of the *ashramas* we find that there is a clear recognition of this gradual process of ascent in the self so that finally according to the Indian concept the *sanyasaashrama* is the highest where the individual looks upon himself, not as a member of this or that group, but as a member of the humanity as a whole irrespective of time and space.

Disruption of the self

Occasions may arise when there is a disruption of these stabilised modes of relatedness. The various ego attitudes which are related to each other may undergo a break-down either because of some internal states of fear or certain frustrating experiences. Under such circumstances the consistency in behaviour may disappear. Behaviour may become variable. There will be a loss in his conceptual level and the level of integration. Consequently the individual is now tied up with stimulus situation or as the ancient Indians put it, with the functioning of the *indriyas*. That consistency which the individual had achieved through the inter-relationships of the various ego attitudes, particularly the integration which he had achieved in his self, is now lost. Consequently there is a regression to the child level of behaving. Similar change takes place, for example, in an individual, who becomes an alcoholic. His behaviour becomes childish. Similarly the behaviour of an individual with a serious brain injury is also childish. Thus, under circumstances like brain injury, or consump-

tion of alcohol, or ego break-down due to frustrations, the individual's behaviour regresses to the childish level. For example, during times of famine parents may sell their children to obtain a little food for themselves. Under acute privation a woman may lead the life of a prostitute in order to get some food. We have all seen the childish way in which the beggar pleads for a little money or a little cloth or a little food. He has absolutely no self-respect. He behaves like a little child, or even worse, like a puppy which cringes for some food. In a similar way studies of the behaviour of people who have been exposed to prolonged unemployment have also shown the break-down of some of the ego attitudes. He may be ready to take any kind of work, even a criminal assignment, in order to gratify his hunger. This is the reason why we find that the modern governments take steps to see that unemployment relief is provided so that the unemployed person and his whole family do not suffer from an ego break-down. The state accepts the responsibility of providing the bare necessities of life to every single individual in the state.

With the formation of the self there are various kinds of relationships built between the individual and other persons, groups and objects. When all these relationships are functioning smoothly there is a sense of security in the individual. On the other hand when the bonds relating the individual to other persons or groups are disrupted, the individual experiences an acute sense of insecurity. When the mother threatens to withdraw the love to the child, when she threatens to go away from the house, the child develops an acute sense of insecurity. Similarly an adult may develop a sense of insecurity when he finds that the bonds which tied him with his relatives, with his friends, with his colleagues in the office or factory are disrupted. As we have already seen the child who does not find affection in the home seeks it by becoming a member of a gang.

Thus, one of the major goals for the striving of an individual is to find a place for himself in a group. Modern researches in child development have shown that the experience of anxiety appears only after the ego formation. As Sullivan puts it, "With the appearance of the self system or the self dynamism the child picks up a new piece of equipment which we technically call anxiety." (12.9). To

begin with, the infant has only two sources of unpleasant experiences namely pain and fear. After the ego formation it has a third source of unpleasantness, namely anxiety. An individual feels anxiety when there is a failure in his relationships with the other people or in his undertakings. He experiences anxiety even when there is a potential failure which threatens his sense of adequacy and his sense of self esteem. Thus, the sense of security and the feelings of anxiety and guilt are very closely interrelated with the formation of the self and the relation of the self to the social groups.

Piaget has shown that there are three stages in the development of the child with respect to playing marbles. The first stage is mere autism. All the fun consists in merely making and seeking bright objects move about. By the time the child is about 6 to 7 years old, he understands the rules of the game, but he looks upon these rules as absolute rules which are given from outside. For example, when Piaget asked, " Where do the rules come from ? " the answer was " God " or " the City Fathers made them ". The child asserts that these rules are the only rules according to which the play should be conducted. This is the stage of absolutism or heteronomy. At a later stage by the time the child is 11 to 12 years old he understands the social relativism of rules. When Piaget asked " if everyone does it, will it be a real rule or not ? ", the child of 11 answered, " If they do it often it may become a real rule ". When he was asked : " Why are there rules in the game of marbles ?" he replied, " So as not to be always quarreling you must have rules and then play properly ". When asked : " How did these rules begin ? " he replied, " Some of us came into an agreement and made them " (11). According to Newcomb (13.308) this is the stage of reciprocity. Sherif (1.597) calls this the stage of autonomy. Newcomb (13. Ch. 9) gives a picture of the development of the self in terms of these three stages. The new born child has some drives and these drives obtain relief. When the child is hungry he cries. When he is fed he stops crying and either plays for a while or sleeps. At this stage of autism the child merely experiences drives and immediate relief from drives. He does not take into account the reality considerations like the physical nature of the objects or the social regulations

and customs or the possibility of greater satisfaction through delayed or indirect means. The infant and child at this stage are moved by the drives or what Freud called the 'Id' or 'wishes' or what the ancient Indian thinkers called the *Indriya* needs. The child also finds the mother and other persons always associated with the experience of relief from drives. So he perceives the mother as an aid or an obstacle to drive-relief. Because the mother gives him comfort, her mere presence is a matter of relief. So the child who is crying may stop crying as soon as he perceives the mother ; he may start smiling and cooing when he perceives the mother. According to Newcomb, the child, at this stage of autism though he responds and interacts with other human beings, has not yet acquired the social roles.

With further development there is a gradual break from this autistic stage. The child discovers that he meets with resistance to his autistic demands from the other people. He finds that there are variable conditions intervening between the drive and the relief from the drive. For example, after a certain stage he cannot obtain his food by mere sucking reactions. He has to learn to drink milk or fruit juice, or water, from a tumbler. Similarly he perceives that a toy gives satisfaction when he manipulates it with his hands or with his mouth. This leads him to demand the toys. But this demand of the toys also involves interaction with the mother and the other human beings. Thus, from the old position of the immediate relief from drive, the child now gets into a stage of realising the importance of variable conditions which intervene between the drive and the relief from the drive. Secondly, the child is now able to make more discriminations. He can distinguish between human beings who converse with him and play with him and the other objects. Among the human beings he is able to discriminate between the mother who comforts him in distress, and the brother, or father, who play with him and amuse him. He also finds that the mother, when she gives comfort, also prevents him from a number of activities. Thus, the child's life becomes more complicated now and gradually he learns to take into account reality considerations. He learns that some things have to be done and some other things cannot be done. So what should be done and what should not be done are gradually learnt by the

child around the age of 3 to 5 years. The child of three may insist upon playing the same game or hearing the same stories. He forbids others to use his toys. He will not allow anybody else to sit on the mother's lap or put his head on the mother's lap. He is very absolutistic at this stage. Newcomb writes, " But such forms of absolutism soon come to include socially shared notions of right and wrong as well as merely private musts and must-nots unique to himself. These musts and must-nots which he shares with others are instances of interiorising social norms. They also correspond very closely to what Freud called the super-ego " (13.305). This process of interiorising social rules which starts at about the age of 3, goes on throughout one's life. However old, however wise, a man may be, he will always find that there are new experiences and new situations which make him alter somewhat. In other words there is always scope for self-development.

It is at this stage that the child begins to practise the prescribed role. The child takes a number of roles in his play. He takes the role of a postman, the policeman, the milk man. He takes the role of the mother, or the father. He tries to sweep the house, to read books and newspapers, to cook the food, and do innumerable activities inside the house, as well as outside the house. This is not mere imitation. In imagination he becomes other human beings and talks as they talk. He may hold conversations within himself. He sets up his own shop and he sells sweets to himself and consumes the imaginary sweets and obtains " real gratification ". This is a very important step in the development of self consciousness. As George H. Mead wrote, " The individual experiences himself as such, not directly but only indirectly from the particular standards of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalised standards of the social group as a whole to which he belongs.... He becomes an object of himself within a social environment or context of experience and behaviour in which both he and they are involved" (14.158). This taking the role of another person or putting one self into the other is sometimes referred to as " social intelligence ". This role-taking involves anticipation. When the child is playing the role of another he is responding to the anticipated behaviour of others. Such an anticipatory

response is made possible by growth in the child with respect to time perspective. When the child hears the footsteps of the father he rushes to receive him and the whole ritual of taking up the child, kissing it, tossing it into the air, all these have to be gone through. The father must immediately go to his room, sit on a particular chair and start changing his clothes. The child helps in the same process. If there is any little delay or alteration he starts protesting. He becomes indignant. He insists upon the father doing the things according to the particular schedule. Thus the child is able to relate events separated by periods of time. Secondly, the anticipatory response is facilitated by the development of language. When the child enacts the role of another he is anticipating the standard role of other people. This helps in his ordinary interaction with the other people. This is the way in which he interiorises the norms in the behaviour of other people. This helps him to guide his own behaviour in terms of the other people. By this process the behaviour of other people becomes predictable. When the child is interacting with his mother he is not only responding to her behaviour but he is also responding to his own version of her behaviour as he has anticipated it.

As the child succeeds in learning to take the role of his mother and other members of the family he also succeeds in learning to take his own role. In anticipating the behaviour of other people he is learning to modify himself ; the role that he takes thus as his own role will correspond more or less closely to the role that is prescribed by others for his position as a child. In this manner children interiorise the adult norms concerning the role of the children. The child, by acquiring his own role is also learning to respond to the anticipated response of the other people.

Reciprocity is the last stage according to Piaget and Newcomb in the development of the child. This stage involves the recognition of the reciprocity between oneself and other people. It involves the recognition of different perceptions in the behaviour of other people as well as in one's own behaviour. Consequently this stage depends upon the ability of the individual to make further differentiations and finer discriminations. In the absolutistic stage the child makes certain anticipations of his mother's behaviour. He becomes perplexed and resentful if the

mother behaves in a different manner. Resentment occurs when our anticipations prove to be inadequate. Similarly there is also a fixed view about himself, about the way in which he does things. This also proves inadequate when he meets other children, and other people in other places. Many children as well as many adults are unable to grow beyond the stage of absolutism. For them there are certain immutable ways of behaviour. This leads to a lack of adjustment and lack of growth in the individual. It also leads to personal unhappiness as well as social conflicts. Such an individual will be continually disillusioned because he finds that his absolutistic standards are not adequate. But he is not prepared to recognise this ; it is due to inadequacy on his part rather than a lack of consistency in other people.

When, the individual realises that his anticipations of others' behaviour are inadequate, that the behaviour of other people involves many contingencies, he is compelled to learn a more complicated set of anticipations. The apparently inconsistent behaviour of his mother will be partly resolved if he succeeds in putting himself in her position at the moment. If he succeeds in doing this he will be able to recognize that the behaviour of other people is not something which is fixed and invariable but that it is dependent upon a number of conditions, some known and many unknown. This is the essence of the ancient Indian conception of *adrishta*. This concept of *adrishta* is a recognition that it is not possible " to see " (*drishta*) all the conditions in one's behaviour due to a number of circumstances. This concept has become degraded into the same old concept of absolutism, that it is all fixed by unknown agencies. Full development of an individual is possible only when he realises that it is impossible to successfully anticipate the behaviour of another individual under all circumstances. Consequently he must be prepared for some inadequacy in his anticipations. He should not feel frustrated that the behaviour of other people is not according to his anticipations and develop a resentment against them. This is also a recognition that the causal relationships underlying behaviour are not simple, that a multiplicity of conditions influence the given behaviour.

Another aspect in the growth of the individual is the

change in the way in which he regards certain kinds of behaviour. By the process of interiorisation what was merely a means to an end will now become an end in itself. While in the earlier stage he was behaving in the proper way in order to avoid the mother's disapproval, now he behaves in that way for its own sake. This is what happens when the social norm is interiorised. Instead of waiting for the mother or father to say " you should not do this ", he is now in a position to tell himself " I should not do this ". Consequently even when the individual is alone he behaves in the " proper " way. Because he has now learnt to interiorise the social norm.

Yet another significant development that takes place in this last stage is the attribution of attitudes to other people. He is able to realise that other people are predisposed to do certain things, to observe certain things, and to feel in certain ways, because they have certain needs and certain motives. If the child is able to attribute attitudes to other people correctly he will not only be able to anticipate the behaviour of other people correctly, he will also be able to guide his own behaviour in the social situation more successfully. In this manner the individual comes to attribute attitudes to himself. He develops a number of attitudes all of which go to make up his self. The stage of reciprocity involves the recognition by oneself, that one's anticipations are due to one's own attitudes, and that there may be a need to change one's own attitudes. It also implies the recognition that the behaviour of other people is due to their wants and motives. It is a recognition, that if our anticipations about others' behaviour is not adequate, it is because we have not taken into consideration certain wants in the other people. When an individual reaches this stage he will have very few occasions, if at all, to become frustrated. He will be able to develop and possess a stable personality.

It must be realised that these three developmental stages of autism, absolutism and reciprocity do not occur stage by stage and inevitably in all individuals.

" Development is slow and gradual with many reversions to earlier stages. A child of four, for example, may have some remnants of autism, many characteristics of absolut-

ism and occasional moments of reciprocity. Ten or twenty years later, he may still have far to go in perceiving others in terms of reciprocity. The direction, however, is clear, even though the development is uneven and always incomplete " (13. 310—311).

Self perception

It is obvious that a person's behaviour in any situation depends upon the way in which he perceives the situation. To us the significant thing is that in almost any situation individuals are likely to include themselves as part of the situation they are perceiving. Generally the protection and enhancement of one's own self is a very strong motivation in human beings. Consequently we find that a person's behaviour depends not only on the situation in which he finds himself, but also upon the way in which he views himself, and what self-attitudes he has. If his self-perception enters very largely into the situation, his behaviour may be to that extent inadequate. As Freud put it, the individual's behaviour is now determined more by his " wishes " than by " reality ". Adler also showed how the feelings of inferiority affect our behaviour and our attitudes towards the society as well as towards the family situation and work situation. Newcomb distinguishes between the self that is perceived as a means and the self that is perceived as an end, as a value.

When the individual looks upon his own capacities, his training, and his temperament as enabling him to succeed or fail in a given venture, the self is perceived as a means, as an instrument to achieve the goal. On the other hand if the preservation and enhancement of the self itself becomes the goal then the individual's behaviour will be conditioned by these self-attitudes. Generally, it is the individual, who feels that he is inadequate, or that the group to which he belongs is inadequate, that looks upon the self as a value to be defended. This is the essence of ego-centric and ethno-centric behaviour. Always the individual is conscious of himself as a value and of his group as a value. When the self is perceived as a value, as an end in itself, then the behaviour of that individual is bound to be in-

adequate and lacking in adjustment to the situation. New-comb differentiates between the two concepts of ' self ' and ' ego ' on the basis of the way in which the self is perceived as a value or as a resource. When the individual perceives his abilities, his training, his achievements as a means, then the term self could be used. " ' Self ' as the more inclusive concept refers to the individual as perceived *by that individual* in a socially determined frame of reference. A person's self represents his own side of his perceived relationships to others. ' Ego ' refers to a more restricted kind of self-perception, namely, *the self as a value to* be protected and enhanced " (13.328). Thus egoistic behaviour is motivated by the preservation and enhancement of the self. On the other hand, the non-egoistic behaviour is more objective, taking into account the realities of the situations.

Modification of self

The self perception depends upon the expectation of the members of the group to which one belongs. When our behaviour is inadequate there is the informal mechanism of social control by means of disapproval, frowns, avoidance and so on, other people make us realise that we have to realise our notion about ourselves. When there is difference or lack of correspondence between our notions of our self and how others look at us, there will be resentments and frustrations. We may attach more value to ourselves while the people around us are unable or unwilling to concede this. Often times an individual becomes misanthropic and bitter because he is not valued by others as he values himself. In order that social behaviour is smooth there must be a correspondence between our perceptions about ourselves and other's perceptions about ourselves. An individual who is rigid and absolutistic will refuse to change his notion of himself on the basis of the way in which other people are reacting to him. This may lead to a break-down in the personality. It may even lead to psychosis. Thus we find that an individual who is realistic is constantly to modify his notion of himself and also he has to modify his notion of the other people. Otherwise he will have to face frustrations and break-down in personality.

The image of the self

Each one of us has a more or less clear picture of our self. The self of an individual depends upon the particular pattern of the ego-attitudes which go to make the self. It is this which gives a consistency to our reactions from day to day. The picture in our minds of "ourselves" is closely related to and dependent upon what others think about us and expect us to do. So our picture of ourselves is intimately related with and dependent upon what others think about us. This is where we find that there is a very close interaction between the individual and the immediate group in which he lives and works. He lives up to what others think of him and expect him to be. This is where we find that our self-respect depends upon the respect which others give us. If others do not respect us under ordinary circumstances most of us will have no respect for ourselves. It is only the highly mature individual, or the liberated individual, whose self-respect is not dependent upon or conditioned by the respect of others towards him. This is why people are generally very sensitive to what others say and do to them. Without our knowing it our little actions and words will affect very deeply the interpersonal relationships. Intense jealousy and hatred arise out of casual, apart from intentional, expressions of indifference or rejection. This is one of the reasons why we should deliberately make the children cultivate respect for other people. When he respects others, they respect him, and when others respect him, he respects himself. Thus there is a chain reaction and this chain reaction is of immense significance both with reference to the development of the self and also the interpersonal relationships between the members of the group.

Ego-involvement

Sherif and Cantril have given a detailed description of this process (15). According to them an individual is ego-involved when one or more of his ego-attitudes determine his experience and behaviour. The concrete act of behaviour depends upon the external stimulus factors as well as the internal stimulus factors. When an ego-attitude

23

enters as an internal factor to determine a person's behaviour then his behaviour becomes ego-involved. Consequently the behaviour of a person who is ego-involved is different from the behaviour of a person who is merely moved by the biogenic motives or by social incentives. His behaviour becomes more highly selective and more effective because it is ego-involved. Because these attitudes enter into behaviour his behaviour becomes more consistent. This is why the individual becomes more integrated. Like every organism, the human being has to satisfy the biogenic needs like hunger, sex, and sleep, but in an individual who belongs to a cultural group, these needs will have to be satisfied according to the social norms of that group. A man of the higher socio-economic status will not go and eat in a cheap restaurant. When he purchases the clothes he selects only certain kinds of material. Thus, ego-attitudes enter into the way in which he satisfies his needs. We just do not eat anything when we are hungry. We eat only certain things in certain places and in the company of certain people. According to Sherif and Cantril this is not a mere matter of social conformity, yielding to social pressures. They assert that this is due to the ego-attitudes which become motives in themselves which have to be satisfied. The individual's notion of his honour, his code, his class, his caste all these may enter into the way in which he satisfies the needs. As Sherif writes, " When we satisfy our hunger or our sexual desires in ways or directions which are out of step with our ego-attitudes we are quite in *conflict*. We feel ashamed and guilty " (1.584). Generally the motivation arising from ego-attitudes is more strong than mere id-considerations. It is only in case of ego break-down that a normal human adult will yield to id considerations.

As Sherif and Cantril pointed out, when an individual is not ego-involved, he becomes more stimulus-bound ; like the little child or like the animal he reacts to the sensations. As the ancient Indian thinkers put it, the individual will be bound down by the *indriyas*. He sees certain things, or hears certain things, and he reacts to them either by movement, or by manipulation, or by vocal reactions. It is only when the individual builds up his self that his behaviour becomes more and more internally directed rather than

being dependent on the external stimuli.

Under ordinary routine conditions of life our reactions will be neutral and not ego-involved. It is only under conditions of ' stress ' that we become ego-involved. Experimental investigations have shown that there is a big difference between the way in which a person reacts under routine conditions and under stress conditions. One of the important educational problems today is to make the students become involved in their studies throughout the year rather than only a couple of months before the examination. A mature person, a person who takes a great interest in the work that he is doing, will never look upon his work as routine work. He becomes ego-involved. 'It is only then that he becomes efficient in his work and that he gets satisfaction not only in the work that he is doing but generally with his life as a whole. He looks upon life as ,worth living. Of course it must be realised that the ego-attitudes do not operate in isolation. How a man works depends not only on the ego-attitudes but also upon his intelligence, temperament and other characteristics. But the significant thing is that there is a difference in our work when we are ego-involved and when we are not. " When the individual is ego-involved, he ' tightens up ' ; he becomes less subject to variations in the stimulus field ; he deals with situations and tasks more in terms of his own claims and pretensions " (1.589—90).

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PART FOUR
GROUP PROCESSES

KINDS OF GROUPS

Experiments on togetherness situations

IN PART II we attempted to study the way in which indivi-
duals interact with each other when they come together.
In part III we have seen how individuals are socialized
and made typical members of a group. Part III has assu-
med that an individual is born into a family which is a
unit of a group organization. We have tried to show how
new members of an already existing group learn to assimi-
late the norms of the group and how they learn to accept
the status and roles pertaining to the group. We have
tried to show how the child learns the group norms as well
as the role of a child in a family through a series of rewards
and punishments. In this part we shall study how the
groups themselves are formed and how the individual as a
member of the group behaves in a group. We shall study
what influence the group has on an individual's behaviour.
This study will also help us to obtain a more adequate
understanding of the learning processes involved in the
socialization of an individual.

The word "group" has many meanings. As we have
already seen, one of the chief defects of social sciences is
the use of terms in daily usage in scientific work. A num-
ber of controversies have arisen because the word "group"
has been understood in different ways by different people.
In a broad way, there is the more general meaning of the
word group and the narrower and the more specific mean-
ing of the word group. We use the word when we are
referring to any aggregation or congregation of human
beings. When we see a number of individuals moving on
the road in the evening in a city we call it a group. Simi-
larly the people who are sitting in a bus or in a railway
compartment are called groups. The pilgrims who are
walking towards a town or a city to participate in a religious
festival will also be called a group. On the other hand the
members of a caste, the members of a club, the members of

a state are also called groups. Since we use the same word to refer to various kinds of groups there is bound to be misunderstanding. We also use the term group when we are dealing with mere classifications. When we conduct a sample survey and interview a number of people of varying age, sex, education and socio-economic status we speak of them as groups. Actually these people have no relationship whatever with each other. They may never come together but still the social scientist when he makes an analysis calls them groups. Thus the term group is used in the following three kinds of contexts: (a) Where a number of persons are sitting together or walking together; here the essential thing is the physical proximity of a number of people coming together at a given time with or without any common purpose. (b) We also use the term group for mere classifications when we speak of tax-evaders, black-marketeers and so on as groups. These people may have no relationship with each other but because they have a common characteristic we put them together and classify them as a group. (c) Finally, we use the term group for the members of an organization with a definite structure, people who have a loyalty and a sense of belonging to the given group. In this part we will be dealing only with the first and the third kinds of groups because they involve social interaction. They affect the behaviour of the individuals in groups in more or less specific ways. We will not take into account the groups of the second variety which are merely nominal groups without involving any kind of social interaction.

The concept of the " Group Mind "

Before we proceed further it would be useful to refer briefly to an old controversy regarding the concept of ' group mind '. Long ago the French sociologist Lebon (1) used the concept of group mind to explain the various characteristics of crowd behaviour. He asserted that when individuals come together as members of a crowd, they are in the grip of a ' collective mind ' and consequently their behaviour is very different from their behaviour as individuals. Terms like the ' group mind ', ' folk mind ', the ' mob mind ', ' collective consciousness ' and so on are used to ex-

plain why individuals behave in a peculiar way when they are members of a crowd. Lebon said that when a person is a member of a crowd his conscious personality disappears and it is his unconscious personality, moved by the collective mind, or the group mind, that is responsible for his behaviour.

On the other hand we have McDougall (2) who uses the same term group mind as a concept to explain the behaviour of individuals as members of highly stable enduring groups like the army or the church. He used the concept of group mind in order to explain the behaviour of individuals in such highly organized well-integrated groups. Among the outstanding characteristics of such groups he spoke of the continuity of the group, the self consciousness of the group with respect to its nature, composition, functions etc.; interaction of the group with the other groups with different ideals, purposes and traditions and the organization within the group involving differentiation and specialisation of functions.

Thus, the same concept of a group mind is made use of to explain the peculiarities of behaviour of the individual in a mob as well as in a highly organized group like in the army. Similarly, attempts have been made to explain peculiarities in behaviour of other groups like racial groups (3) and caste groups. Allport (4) has exposed the fallacies in this kind of analysis of behaviour. The concept of the group mind, a mind over and above the minds of the individuals in that group, is not necessary to explain the behaviour of the individuals forming the group. We should then speak, not only of a British mind, but also of an English mind, or a Londoner's mind, in order to explain the differences in the social behaviour of these various groups. Similarly we will have to speak of a Bengali mind or a Punjabi mind or a Kerala mind and probably also of a Brahmin mind or a Harijan mind. In fact in any given town or city we will find differences in the behaviour of people living in the different areas. So we will have to speak of the mind of each area in the town or the city or even of each road or part of a road in a city. Thus, the whole problem reduces itself into absurdity. There is no doubt that there are differences in the behaviour of individuals forming different groups. There is also no doubt that an

individual behaves in a different way when he is a member
of different groups.   For example, the student behaves in
a disciplined manner when he is in the class room or in
the library, but his behaviour is quite different on the
playground or in the cafeteria or when he is in the hostel.
But to seek to explain these differences with the assump-
tion of a group mind hardly takes us anywhere because we
will have to invent a number of group minds to explain
specific types of behaviour, not only of a group of indivi-
duals, but of the same individual as a member of different
groups.   In the recent years this concept of group mind
has been completely abandoned. We speak more in terms
of " group behaviour " rather than in terms of group mind.
We explain differences in behaviour in terms of differences
in the situation, differences in status and roles, differences in
social norms and so on. We also realise now the significance
of the interaction between individuals who are members
of a group. Group behaviour is not a mere sum of the
behaviour of individuals in a group since it is dynamic.
Each individual influences the other individuals and is in-
fluenced by the other individuals. A number of field
studies as well as experiments have been conducted in the
last few decades which are of immense value to the study of
the behaviour of individuals in group situations of various
kinds. In the following chapters brief summaries of the
work done will be given and an attempt will be made to
determine the characteristics of behaviour in the various
kinds of groups. We can study the experimental results
with respect to differences in behaviour of individuals when
they are alone and when they are together with other indi-
viduals. Next we may study the way in which informal
groups are formed and how they disintegrate. We can
study the behaviour of individuals in these informal
groups. We will also study some of the techniques that
have been developed to study the behaviour of individuals
in small groups. Next we can analyse the behaviour of
individuals in well-organized formal groups. In view of the
fact that there are factions in our villages as well as in the
towns, we may try to study why these factions arise and
how we can help the individuals to become members of
more integrated groups and overcome the disastrous effects
of intergroup conflicts. We can next study the behaviour

of individuals, when they are members in an audience situation and when they are members in the unorganized crowds. Finally we can study the problem of leadership and try to show the way in which the leader affects the behaviour of individuals in the group and how his own behaviour is affected by the responses of the members of the group.

Behaviour in togetherness situation

As we have seen above Lebon drew attention to the fact that there are differences in behaviour of individuals when they become members of a group. Laboratory experiments were started long back to study the way in which being with other people affects various psychological processes like attention, association, memory and so on. Allport (5) got the individuals to work by themselves in ' alone situation ' and put 4 or 5 people around a table and got them to do the same work in this ' together situation ', each working independently. The time was constant for each person in the two situations. He made comparisons in terms of the quantity of work and the quality of work. He tried to eliminate the effect of competition by having all the subjects finish the work at the same time. He also prohibited any comparison or discussion of the results among themselves. He gave instruction that when they are in together situation they were not to compete with each other and that there will not be any comparison of the results to determine who has done more. Allport reported that the majority of the subjects showed improvement in speed and quantity of work in togetherness situation. He called them " social increments ". He further found that the increase was greater for simpler tasks than for more complicated intellectual tasks. He found that the slower individuals improved their speed more than those who worked fast. As regards reasoning tests Allport reported that there was a lowering in the quality of work in the together situation even though the quantity increased on the whole. Finally, he found that in judging odours individuals avoided extreme judgments of pleasantness and unpleasantness when they were in the together situation. In other words, Allport found that the unpleasant odour was judged as less unplea-

sant and the pleasant as less pleasant in the together situation in comparison with the alone situation. We may recall that Sherif found similar results in his study of the auto-kinetic phenomenon where in the together situation individuals shifted their judgment toward a common standard or a norm.

The other results of Allport particularly regarding social increments have not been completely substantiated by other investigators. Dashiell (6) repeated Allport's work. He got the subjects to work simultaneously in separate rooms and to do the same work independently in the together situation sitting around a table. He did not find consistent increases in speed in the together situation. This was further checked up by modifying the conditions a little. Each individual was usually made to work alone at different times. It was found that when an individual worked alone his work was not as much as when several individuals worked simultaneously in separate rooms and when several individuals worked simultaneously at the same table in the presence of each other. This experiment conclusively showed that there was competition at a conceptual level when individuals were working in separate rooms at the same time. Physical presence of the other individuals is not necessary to bring about the element of competition. He also got the individuals to compete with each other in the together situation and he found that there was a big difference in speed when people competed with each other in the together situation in comparison with their working without competition in the together situation. In another set of observations he got two people to watch the man when he was working alone. Here also he found that there was a difference in speed between working alone when others are observing him work, and working alone by himself. Thus, Dashiell showed experimentally that the element of competition as well as the element of observation by other people increases the speed in working.

As we have already seen prestige suggestion operates on the work as well as judgment of individuals. Moore (7) demonstrated that mere presenting of the majority opinion to an individual is effective in changing his opinion even though the other individuals are not present. As we have seen, the political propagandist tries to influence the judg-

ment as well as behaviour of individuals by asserting that most people think that way or act in that way. Saadi and Farnsworth (8) found that subjects tended to accept dogmatic statements very readily when they were attributed to people whom they liked. On the other hand there was resistance when the dogmatic statements were attributed to a disliked person. Thus, in our work, as well as in our judgments, we are affected by the opinion of the majority, opinion of the expert, the opinion of the people whom we like and so on.

Asch (9) used a number of variables in order to study the influence of other individuals in together situations. He varied the size of the majority, the number of individuals disagreeing with the majority, and the structure of the task. The subject had to judge the length of lines by matching a given line to one of the three lines recorded on a card. The experimentor had planted 8 people who unanimously made an error. It was found that the naive subject was greatly affected when he found that the majority in the group differed from him. When an unstructured situation was given so that the differences between the stimuli did not provide an objective basis for discrimination, the subjects were influenced significantly by the erroneous judgments of the 'planted' majority. On the other hand when there were clear cut differences in the stimuli and when the majority made obvious errors the subject was not influenced. However, he felt greatly disturbed when he had to disagree with the "majority". He felt relieved when the situation was explained to him at the end of the experiment. This experiment shows that the majority opinion was accepted when the stimulus situation was unstructured. On the other hand, when the stimulus situation was clear, there was no tendency to accept the majority opinion, though of course, the individual felt bewildered as to who was right, he or the majority. This is the typical situation when an individual in a group disagrees with some of the superstitious beliefs and rituals. Asch also tried to study the influence of the size of the majority on the judgment of the lines of the subjects. He found that when one person was planted the subject accepted the errors communicated by the other subject a few times. It increased to 12.8% when there were two people to mislead him. It further in-

creased to 28.5% when there were three people to mislead him. It was found that further increments from 4 to 15 people did not lead to further increase in errors. Thus the size of the majority is an influence only up to a point. Beyond that point, increases in numbers does not affect. The same thing also happens in life. Though advertisers are fond of speaking of " millions " actually when we see that the product is used by two or three of the people whom we know or whom we respect then we may change to that brand.

Barenda (10) repeated Asch's work with children from 7—10 years of age. It was found that the children tended to err in the majority direction more frequently than the adults. It was also found that the children were not so much upset by the absurd and obvious errors of the planted subjects as the adults were. This indicates that the child perceives his relation to the other people somewhat differently from the adults.

Thus, when other people are observing or doing the same task the effect on an individual's experience and behaviour varies depending upon the factors which are operating at the given time.

Uniformities of behaviour in small groups

Bales (11) and his co-workers at the laboratory of social relations at Harvard University have tries to study the problems of communication when small groups of persons ranging from 2—10 people attempt at problem-solving and decision-making. They have attempted to develop standardised methods of observing, recording and analysing data of the processes of interaction and communication. " One of our basic assumptions is that there are certain conditions which are present to an important degree not only in special kinds of groups doing special kinds of problems, but which are more or less inherent in the nature of the process of interaction or communication itself, whenever or wherever it takes place " (12.146—7). The subjects are asked to consider themselves as members of the staff of an organization which has been asked to consider the effects of a çase of human relations in a factory and advise the authorities as to why the people involved in the case

behave in that particular way and advise them about what they should do. Each subject is given a summary of the case material. After each person has read it, the summaries are collected by the experimenter. Thus, actually when they are discussing the case, different kinds of problems of communication arise. Firstly, there is the problem of information. Though the individuals possess facts relevant to the situation, there is some degree of ignorance and uncertainty, because they have just read only the summary of the case. They do not have all the facts, and they have not made a detailed study of the problem. It is only through the process of interaction they will be in a position to arrive at a definition of the whole problem and understanding of the whole situation. Secondly, there are problems of evaluation. Different members will possess somewhat different values to start with. They are asked to advise the authority about the course of action. In arriving at a common value judgment it is necessary for the group to arrive at this only through interaction. Thirdly, there will be the problem of control. Directly or indirectly each member will try to influence the other members in arriving at a group decision. The members face a number of alternative decisions or solutions, some satisfactory and some unsatisfactory. Consequently they will be influencing each other. This will also involve problems regarding status, leadership and so on. In the opinion of Bales these problems of orientation or opinion evaluation and control are relevant and characteristic of a wide range of interactions.

The group has accepted to perform a task and it has also accepted to reach a decision. In order to achieve this the individuals in the group have problems of communication as well as organization, which arise in the course of interaction. They have to communicate information as well as opinions and suggestions to each other. They have also to maintain social-emotional organization. Various kinds of solutions occur. These are checked up in terms of opinions that they have, and as a result of discussion, the individuals converge into some sort of a satisfactory solution. Thus there is a good deal of give and take as the individuals of the group discuss this problem and arrive at a solution.

Bales tried to categorise the behaviour of the individuals as they discuss the problem and arrive at a solution. He

Social Emotional Area : Positive	A	1. *Shows solidarity*, raises other's status, gives help, reward :
		2. *Shows tension release*, jokes, laughs, shows satisfaction :
		3. *Agrees*, shows passive acceptance, understands, concurs, complies :
Task Area: Neutral	B	4. *Gives suggestion*, direction, implying autonomy for other :
		5. *Gives opinion*, evaluation, analysis, expresses feeling, wish :
		6. *Gives orientation*, information, repeats, clarifies, confirms :
	C	7. *Asks for orientation*, information, repetition, confirmation :
		8. *Asks for opinion*, evaluation, analysis, expression of feeling:
		9. *Asks for suggestion*, direction, possible ways of action:
Social Emotional Area : Negative	D	10. *Disagrees*, shows passive rejection, formality, withholds help:
		11. *Shows tension*, asks for help, withdraws out of field :
		12. *Shows antagonism*, deflates other's status, defends or asserts self :

a b c d e

KEY

a	Problems of Communication	A	Positive Reactions
b	Problems of Evaluation	B	Attempted Answers
c	Problems of Control	C	Questions
d	Problems of Decision	D	Negative Reactions
e	Problems of Tension Reduction		
f	Problems of Reintegration		

The system of categories used in observation of interaction in small groups and their major relations from Bale (11.9).

found that the whole process of interaction could be cate
gorised into twelve categories and that the problem area
could be defined into the following four areas : positiv
reactions, attempted answers, questions, negative reaction
(see chart).

Thus, the individuals may show solidarity or antagonism
tension release or intensification, agreement or disagree
ment, give suggestions or ask for them, give opinions and
evaluation or ask for them, and finally give information and
clarification or ask for them. Thus, in the process of com
munication there will be instrumental-adaptive task area
where information, suggestion and evaluations of these ar
made or sought. But when a group discusses a problem i
is not a pure intellectual matter, it is also a social-emotiona
problem. We may like or dislike the information, sugges
tion and evaluations; more than this, we may like or dislik
the individuals who give the information, make the sugges
tions and offer evaluations. Thus there may be either a pos
tive or a negative attitude. Bales has found that competen
observers with hard training are able to correlate from 0.7
to 0.95 in their categorisation. The observers will be si
ting in another room and observe through a one wa
mirror so that they are not seen by the participant:
Besides. categorisation of the behaviour they also not
down who speaks to whom. In a general way Bale
and his co-workers have found that in any small group c
2 to 8 participants 25% will be positive reactions 11%
negative reactions of the social-emotional area and 57%
giving information etc., and 7% of asking information etc
Thus, two thirds of the behaviour in such situation pertai
to question-answer area while the other one third pertain
to the positive or negative social-emotional areas. It was als
found that while there was some difference between th
successful groups and the unsuccessful groups, the diffe
ence was not very much. For example, there was a highe
rate of suggestion with 8.2% for the successful group a
against 3.6% for the unsuccessful group. Disagreemen
was about 4% in the successful groups as against 12.8% i
the unsuccessful groups. The work of Bales has shown tha
in the unsuccessful groups some individuals will tend t
disagree with the others and show antagonism. It wa
found that antagonism is shown by attempts to bring dow

24

the status of the other people or by attempts to defend or assert oneself. It was also found that the disagreeing individuals may show signs of tension, as it happens at our Legislature and Parliamentary meetings; individuals may withdraw altogether by a "walk out" and thus show their dissatisfaction with what is going on at the meeting. As we have seen above when the individuals are conscious of their own status then self attitudes become the ends to defend or to assert. Such individuals, because they are preoccupied with themselves and their status, are unable to think of the problem on hand. On the other hand if individuals in the group can be led to think of the task on hand there will be a greater proportion of positive reactions in the social-emotional area.

Bales and his co-workers also found that "groups with no designated leader generally tend to have more equal participation than groups with designated leaders of higher status" (12.153). It was also found that in any group generally there will be one individual who does about 40 to 50% of the talking. When the size of the group is more than five it was found that in general about 3 people will do 80% of the talking while the rest of the people will do only 20%. Thus the man who is able to recall the relevant information, give a number of alternative suggestions and make evaluations of the information and suggestions of his own as well as of the other people, such a man emerges in the course of interaction as the prominent person of the group. This leads to the formation and differentiation of status. "Efforts to solve problems of orientation, evaluation and control, as involved in the task, tend to lead to differentiation of the roles of the participants, both as to the functions they perform and their gross amounts of participation.... Both qualitative and quantitative types of differentiation tend to carry status implications which may threaten or disturb the existing order or balance of status relations among the members" (12.158). Thus in addition to thinking and reacting to the task on hand the members of the group have also the problems of their social and emotional relationships to solve. When there are personal anxieties or antagonisms, then the basic solidarity of the group is impaired. These emotional problems arise more and more when the problems of evaluation and control

become more prominent in the interaction. The social-emotional problems lead to a kind of status struggle and this may lead to an increase in the rate of negative reactions. It was also found that when the status struggles are satisfactorily solved, then behaviour of categories 1, 2, and 3 will rise to the peak. There will be, not only a good deal of agreement, but there will also be an increase in the jokes and laughter reactions. This leads to the satisfactory solution and group decision.

Gradations from togetherness situation to group situation

As we have seen the togetherness situation has very elementary social properties. It is just the presence of other individuals, whether they are observing us or doing the same tasks. We do not have any group properties here. All the various individuals do not feel themselves as members of a group. For example, when various individuals like the pensioners, go to the bank or the treasury on the last day of the month to collect their pension, they are just in the together situation. But if they meet each other month after month they may gradually form into a group. They may have interactions with each other which may lead to some kind of social norms and possibly also some kind of status relationships. It is possible that when a new man joins, the other members may have a different attitude towards him and probably after a few meetings, the new man may be assimilated and may feel that he belongs to that group. As Sherif writes, " In the course of repeated interaction over a time span among individuals with common motives or problems, togetherness situations become group situation. The appearance of a group is marked by the formation of structure (organization) and a set of norms. As individuals become group members in this process, differential effects of interaction process become more pronounced and more predictable in direction and degree" (13.181).

We find a similar situation arising in the overcrowded third class railway compartment. When a passenger wants to get in all the people in the compartment join together as a group and prevent him from getting in. If somehow the new man manages to get in, he will in his turn, join

the rest and prevent somebody else from getting in. Thus an aggregate of strangers in the railway compartment may pass on from the together situation to the group situation when other passengers try to entrain.

In the next chapter we can study the way in which groups are formed and how they function.

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FORMATION OF GROUPS

Properties of the groups

EXPERIMENTAL WORK as well as field survey work in the last few years have shown that two attributes are universally found in a group. A group includes only persons who share some norms and values about something. Further a group also contains people with interrelated social roles. As Newcomb writes, " Thus a group consists of two or more persons *who share norms* about certain things with one another and whose *social roles are closely inter-locking*" (1.492). As we have seen earlier in the togetherness situation neither of these properties is present. That is why we cannot call people sitting in a bus or people walking on a road as groups. They are merely in the togetherness situation. It is an ' aggregate ' of people rather than a ' group ' of people. We have also seen that an aggregate of people may form themselves into a group. For example, during the rainy season due to heavy winds a tree may fall on the road. This may lead to an obstruction of the traffic. People going on the road in bullock-carts, or cycles, or cars, or in the bus, will all stop at the point. At this time it is mere aggregation of people. There will be interactions. This may lead to some kind of a group action to push the fallen tree, or to go to the neighbouring village and get men with their axes to cut the tree, and make way for the traffic to move on. Here we find that the aggregation when it is seized with a task, will lead to suggestions and counter-suggestions so that certain social norms will develop and also certain status differentiations, and finally to some group actions. Of course the group may be merely for the few minutes till the way is made clear. The members of this fleeting group may never meet each other in their lives but still at that particular time, to do that particular task, there is the group formation with the properties of the group. Because of the problem on hand and because of the social interaction there will be on the one hand certain social

values which are shared in common and on the other hand some kind of a reciprocity between the various individuals. According to Sherif, " A group is a social unit which consists of a number of individuals who stand in (more or less) defined status and role relationships to one another and which possesses a set of values, or norms of its own, regulating the behaviour of individual members, at least in matters of consequence to the group (2.144).

Groups are products of interaction

Thus, groups are products of interaction. This is generally overlooked when we are dealing with groups which are already well established like the family, the church, the state and the political party and so on. But, when we are studying informal groups we will see the processes underlying the formation of groups. This will help us not only to understand the properties of the group but also to understand the way in which the individuals find their place as members of the group. We can see these processes operating when a number of individuals are faced with a problem for which they do not have any ready-made solutions or established ways of behaviour. It is under such circumstances that we can see the way in which a group is formed. In the recent years a number of studies have been made on informal groups of adolescents in street corners. Further experimental studies have also been made in order to find out how a number of people who were brought together form themselves into a group. Thus we must distinguish between the informal groups and the formal groups.

Formal and informal groups

We are members of a number of formal groups. We are citizens of our country with its own Constitution. We belong to a particular State with its own governmental organization. We also belong to our family which has its links with several generations which could be identified and our family is a unit of our caste and creed. We may also be members of our college organisations. Probably we may be members of a number of other social service organizations or cultural organizations. Now all these

organizations have been existing for some years or even centuries. Each group has got its own norms and as members of those organizations we have a particular status with other individuals having a similar or other kind of status. In the third part of this book, we have seen how each person is socialized as a member of each one of these groups and how we accept the beliefs of the groups to which we belong and conform ourselves to the opinions of the particular group. We have also seen how we develop attitudes which are in consonance with the other members of the group to which we belong. Thus, in these formal groups most of the norms are pre-ordained. These norms are defined independently of the person who occupies the position. The President of an organisation, the Secretary of an organisation, the Head of the State, the Chief Minister, all these people occupy certain positions with defined characteristics.

On the other hand we are also members of a number of informal organizations. We develop friendships and the friends as a group meet in a very informal manner. For example, when the college association arranges a tea party we meet as members of a formal group but within this formal group we have our own informal group. We sit with our close friends at the tea table. If, by force of circumstances we are unable to sit with our friends, and if we have got to sit at another table, we feel a little uncomfortable. The other members also may feel uncomfortable. Still all of us are members of one formal group, of a particular association. Thus, there is a close relationship between the informal groups and the formal groups. A formal group has a number of informal groups within it. Similarly every informal group is linked with some formal group. In the formal group our roles are specified. We have to behave according to the expectations of the group. On the other hand, in the informal groups we can develop our own roles congenial to each person. For example, at a tea party the members around each table will behave in a very free way indulging in a number of jokes and laughter. Probably the time has come for the meeting to start. The President of the organisation may make a sound and call the meeting to order. Suddenly all the members will become quiet. Their attention is directed

towards the main table at which the President of the organization is sitting and now the whole group becomes formal and starts its business. We have relatively more freedom as members of the informal group whereas we are constrained to behave in a particular form as members of the formal group.

Since the 1920s sociologists (3, 4, & 5) have made a number of studies about the small informal groups. Elton Mayo (6) of the Harvard Business Group studied the behaviour of small groups in industry. The sociologist Moreno (7) studied role relations in small groups. Kurt Lewin and his associates (8) Sherif (9) and Bales (10) and others have conducted experiments on small groups. We have now considerable literature about the behaviour of individuals in informal groups.

As we have seen above formal groups may have long history involving several generations. Informal groups are more transitory. But, it must be realised, that several large organizations have had their beginnings in informal groups. A number of worldwide organizations today like the Masonic Club or Rotary Club or Lions Club, the Congress Seva Dal, even the Indian National Congress itself, all started as informal groups. With time and because of the purposes which these informal groups were fulfilling they became formal groups. The Mysore State Adult Education Council, which is a vast organization today, started as an informal group with a few enthusiastic students and teachers in the Mysore University Union in the 1930s. Secondly the interaction in these small groups is very intimate. There is face to face relationship and communication. On the other hand in the more formal groups the communication may be only through mass media. It may be a statewide or countrywide or worldwide organization. So we can learn about what the other people are doing only through mass media like the newspaper or special newsletters and so on. Yet another feature which distinguishes the informal group from the large organizations is the difference in flexibility. As the association becomes larger it becomes more and more inflexible. It is not easy to bring about new changes. A vast machinery has to be moved in order to bring about even a slight modification. For example,

any change in the law of the state would involve probably about a year's work or more. On the other hand in the small groups there is considerable amount of flexibility. The state, for example, may be faced with a critical situation and so it has armed itself with the power of passing an ordinance which may be later on made into an act after the Legislature considers it. We have already seen how in the formal groups there are compelling structural properties. Each individual will have his own status and role clearly defined. In the informal group the status and roles are in formation. So there is a possibility of change.

We find informal groups starting automatically among the children of the nursery school, among the children in the village streets. There are small friendship groups and play groups. These groups may develop structural properties with time. Several of the football teams started as small informal groups and have now developed themselves into large organizations. In the schools and colleges we find a number of informal groups, cliques, and friendships. We find similar informal factions in the slum areas in the cities, and in the villages, in which the adults participate.

We may now describe briefly the importance of the study of the small informal groups, the interaction and the reciprocal relationships of the individuals in the small groups. We can observe them and specify the problems as well as the activities of these small groups. This helps us to study the way in which the group is formed and how it is stabilised. We can also study the changes in these informal groups and how they disintegrate. We can understand the process of group formation as well as the process by means of which the individuals affiliate themselves and identify themselves with the groups. We can specify the conditions under which the group is formed and its effects upon the individuals. Thus the whole process of group formation can be brought within the scope of actual observation. Apart from this methodological reason for the study of these small groups, as we have seen above, informally organized groups are very important in social life. They prevail at all ages of the life of an individual and they are there in all groups. Consequently it is a very necessary aspect of social life.

The essential properties of the small informal groups

Before we discuss the essential properties of small informal groups it is necessary to bear in mind some basic conditions underlying group formation. As we have seen above when two or more individuals come together there is interaction. It is on the basis of this interaction that the group may be formed. Secondly, this interaction should involve communication. Thus interaction and communication are the basic conditions for the formation of a group. But it must be realised that these are not sufficient conditions for the formation of a group. Neither mere interaction nor mere communication by themselves are necessary and sufficient conditions for the formation of the group. We can now proceed to study the essential properties of small informal groups.

Sherif has indicated that four properties are essential in the formation and functioning of small informal groups. These four properties are : (1) common motives conducive to interaction among individuals, (2) differential effects of interaction on participants, (3) formation of group structure consisting of roles and hierarchical statuses and (4) standardisation of values or norms which regulate the relationships (2.151).

1. COMMON MOTIVES

Informal organization of groups can arise only through the interaction of individuals with common motives. The boy in a street corner may learn on the basis of interaction and communication that there are common motives. It is this which leads to the formation of a group which may endure for a short or a long time. The village boys who have brought their cows for grazing may join together to organize a game of marbles or they may join together to invade the neighbouring garden and steal some fruits. Food, recreation and entertainment underlie many of the informal group formations. Similarly the students in a hostel may form themselves into a small group when they know that their neighbour has got a basket of food from his home or a jar of pickles. They may invade his room and make him share his food with them. This may even lead to further activities like a boy writing to his home to

get packets of food for the whole group. Similar activities are reported to happen among the prisoners. In the villages and sometimes even in cities, the common threat of burglars may bring about an informal organization of night watchmen who will go from street to street in the night. The whole group is involved and excited over their duties. Particularly individuals facing some uncertainties or insecurity in their social ties will somehow meet each other. In a political party groups may be formed because of certain threats or deprivations. They may organize themselves so that they can even pull down the leader of the Legislative party who is the Chief Minister. " Therefore ' common motives conducive to interaction ' necessarily imply that the individuals perceive, even though dimly, that others also face the same problems and that cooperation with them has some relevance for the problem, even if only that of providing mutual solace " (2.154). It is possible that the cooperation may not lead the group to achieve its ends. If the group is confronted by obstacles which it is not possible to overcome then it will disintegrate. It is only when it succeeds that the group becomes strengthened and continues to exist for a longer time. The " ingroup " feeling may develop. This in turn may lead to new motives and new goals. The sense of belongingness may provide a sense of security and importance. The boy who feels neglected in his home, the boy who feels that his mother or sister is preferred to him by his parents, may now feel a sense of security and importance in this new group and he may continue to be a member of the group to satisfy this new motive which has arisen. He may develop loyalty to the group and this may lead to new activities by the group.

It is a familiar fact that a number of well established organizations came into existence first as informal groups. Recently several colleges, liberal as well as professional, have been started in India on the basis of such informal groups. Retired engineers who have not been able to get their sons admitted into an engineering college or retired medical men or retired teachers in a similar situation may call for an informal meeting and when they find that several individuals are ready to respond and cooperate they may join together and form themselves into a committee and start colleges. Similarly new religious movements were

started because of the sense of dissatisfaction of the few with the defects of the existing religious organizations. So we find that deprivations and threats serve as common motives to bring together a number of individuals so that they organize themselves to achieve those goals. As we have seen, once a group is formed other goals may be set up and so the group becomes an enduring institution. On the other hand, if the members feel that the group is not satisfying the purpose then the group may disintegrate.

2. DIFFERENTIAL EFFCTS OF INTERCOMMUNICATION OF MEMBERS

When individuals interact with each other they perceive the other people as unique individuals with certain abilities or disabilities. As Asch puts it, the final outcome " of interaction with others and of the perception of their actions, motives and emotions is that we come to know persons as having particular unique individualities " (11.205). The individuals in the course of their interaction understand in a more or less definite way the intellectual and character qualities of each other. This leads to differences in attitudes towards each other. It is possible that due to a sense of belonging and a sense of security certain new aspects which, neither the individual, nor the members of the family of that individual had ever suspected, may now come to full light. Unsuspected characteristics of planning, ingenuity, perseverance, capacity to endure suffering for the benefit of the group as a whole, may all emerge. It is in this way that informal groups bring out, the hidden talents and aspects of our personality./ This is why there is a difference in the behaviour of the individual in the gang as compared with his behaviour at home. Parents are often astonished and similarly teachers when they find that the youth show evidence of new characteristics when they are in a new group. It is possible that these new experiences may or may not lead to a perseveration in the individual. It is possible that the individual may accept that kind of behaviour only in that particular group and this may not be transferred to other situations of his life. This is why we find that parents as well as teachers are very sceptic about the informal gangs and they take active steps to prevent the formation of such groups.

3. FORMATION OF GROUP STRUCTURE

When individuals with common motives interact with each other for a fairly long time, then a group structure will emerge. The differential effects of interaction will bring about certain expectations and if those expectations are fulfilled by the individuals then there will be hierarchical status within the group. One individual may become the leader of the group because of his talents and his courage. He may assume leadership and the group may accept him as a leader. If the individual succeeds in leading the group to undertake some cooperative work then his position as a leader becomes stabilised. This also leads to role-taking by the various individuals. / When the individuals cooperate with each other to attain a common goal this cooperation leads to differentiation of functions and coordination of efforts. Each member will do something which he is capable of doing efficiently. For example, when half a dozen boys gather together and go for a picnic each will take his own role. One may get a few stones and set up an oven and get some firewood and start the fire. Another may take on the role of a cook, a third may become an assistant to the cook, the fourth may clean up the whole place and get some leaves to eat with. In this way there will be role-taking by the different individuals which leads to cooperation and successful attainment of the goal. To quote Sherif, " In its broadest sense, group structure refers to a more or less stabilised system of inter-dependent relationships (status and role) among individuals according to their respective contributions to interaction toward a common goal. These relationships are interdependent and reciprocal, linking a given individual to every other individual in the group in certain definite ways (roles). In terms of the individuals' respective contributions in various capacities relevant to the tasks, problems, or goals significant in the interaction process, reciprocal expectations are stabilised for each member in relation to other members. These stabilised expectations for behaviour in the group define the roles of the group members " (2.162). Thus, the differences in ability and character bring about differences in expectations. This results in status formations within the group, as well as in the taking up of definite roles. When this group structure emerges, and the group forma-

tion is successful, there will be solidarity in the group. Each individual may be proud to belong to the group and he may cheerfully undertake the assignments and get intensely ego-involved in them.

4. FORMATION OF GROUP NORMS

Side by side with the group structure the group norms will emerge. These norms will regulate the behaviour of the individuals. Gradually certain approved ways of behaving will develop and the members who conform to these approved ways may be rewarded while those who do not conform may be punished. Recognition and praise, or ridicule and scorn, will reinforce these group norms. Norms may also develop regarding the behaviour of the members of the group towards those who are not members. This will lead to social distance. The group norms develop because of the expectations which arise out of interaction of the members of the group.

For mere togetherness situation to develop into a group situation, the interactions among the individuals must continue for a fairly long time. So, time is a very important condition for the formation of the group. Further, the group formation occurs after a series of episodes. When the individuals join together at varying intervals and engage themselves in the group activities then the group becomes knit together. So, pursuing common goals successfully on various occasions leads to stabilisation of the group.

Status stabilisation in informal groups

Sherif and his co-workers (2.182ff) produced two groups experimentally and studied the status-stabilisation in these two groups. They found certain characteristic ways in which the statuses stabilise themselves in the course of interaction over a period of time. They found that those members who contribute effectively towards the goals of the group emerge into the foreground. Thus from a situation where there is no status difference, gradually through the process of interaction they found that the individual or individuals who are very active by their words and deeds assume the leadership status. The group as a whole accepts these individuals as leaders. At the other end those who

are quiet participants assume the bottom position. In the course of time the members who are in the middle assume varying positions in the hierarchy so that after a time, after a series of episodes of successful working to attain the goals of the group, statuses stabilise themselves and the group structure takes shape. They also found that there is a good deal of struggle for the "lieutenant" position near the leader. The figure on page 384 gives the stabilisation process for two groups studied by Sherif and his co-workers. We find that there are some common features in the two groups particularly with respect to the emergence of the leader and the members in the bottom position at the first stage and the development of the positions of the sub-leaders a little later on and the finalisation of the middle and the lower middle statuses in course of time so that every member has a particular status and position in his own group. (See figure overleaf).

We can now proceed to study the actual way in which the group structure as well as the group norms are developed. As illustrations we can take up the field study of Whyte (5) and the experimental studies of Sherif (9) Bales (10) and others.

Whyte's study of the street corner boys

He studied the formation and function of informal groups in the slum areas of a big city. The children, the youth of the slum area, are looked down upon by the families who live in more respectable quarters in the city. They live in very poor homes. They are not looked after by the parents because probably both of them will have to work from dawn to dusk to get the wherewithal to support the family. These children do not go to schools nor do they have work. Whyte studied the unemployed and money-less young men who were around 20 years of age. They gravitated towards each other to obtain recreation, entertainment, recognition and security. Their sense of deprivation of biological as well as psychological needs leads them to meet and interact with each other. In the course of interaction there is the group stabilisation with hierarchical arrangements of the statuses. In the group studied by Whyte there was a conflict between the leader and the lieute-

Status Stabilization Process in a small group

Time   Stabilization Process.

Case A.   Case B.

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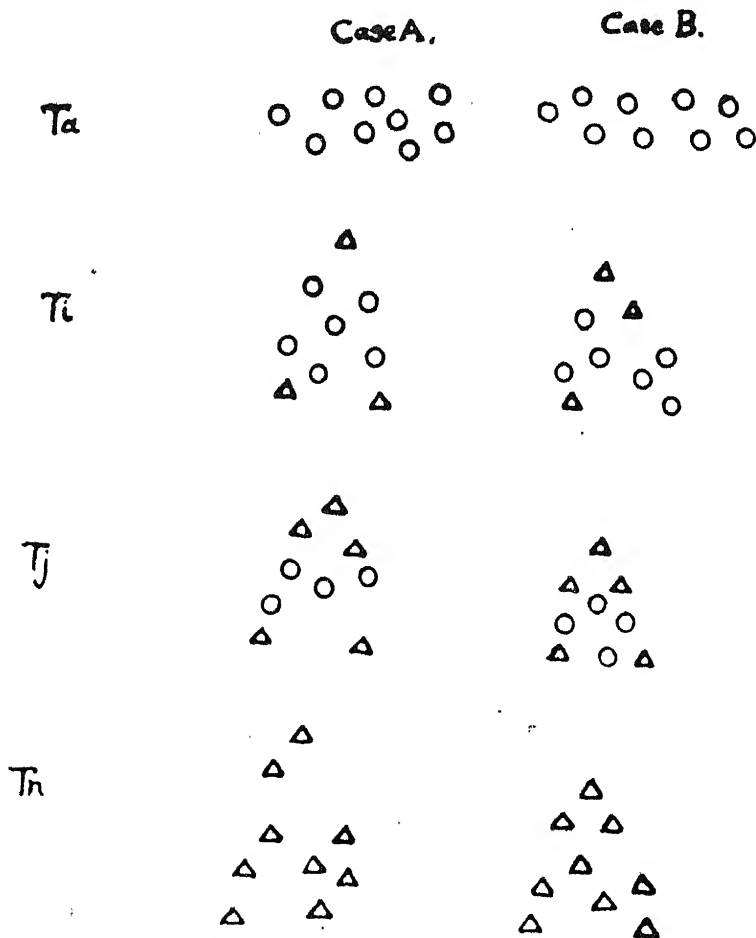
O Individual participants whose status is not yet stabilised.

▲ Participant member whose status is stabilised during interaction. Diagram of two representative sequences of status stabilisation with interaction in time. Note that hierarchical arrangements in A are steeper than in B. In A, the leader and bottom status ase stabilised first. In B, leadership and lieutenant positions are crystallized simultaneously with bottom position (2.183).

nant. When the lieutenant was able to defeat the leader several times the lieutenant became the leader. The whole group centred around him. Whyte found that the man who is able to plan escapades and entertainments, who is physically strong and shrewd becomes the leader. It was also found that once a hierarchy is formed the member of the group with the higher status has to lead a more strict life because there are several expectations placed upon him. For example, the leader has to be very generous in spending money when he is in the group. On the other hand, he had to observe very strict rules in securing money for himself. This is a typical phenomenon in all groups. The higher the position of the leader the greater the need for self-discipline. Unless he is strict with himself he cannot be strict with others. Unless he observes the social norms scrupulously he cannot punish the others for deviation from the norms. Whyte found this in the informal groups of the street corner boys. Similarly, thieves have very strict codes among themselves, and the leader of the thieves, like the leader of the respectable citizens, must have greater self-discipline. It was also observed that the group activities usually originated from the leader of the group. Further the leader encouraged suggestions from the other members which involved activities in which the leader himself excelled. On the other hand, he would discourage the suggestion which involved activities in which he did not excel. This is again a very important observation regarding inter-relationships between the leader and the followers and the types of activities in which the given group engages itself. This is how the leader is able to enhance his authority and prestige because he gets the group to undertake activities in which he is very good and so can lead the group to success. Whyte also observed that the group structure involved a system of mutual obligations. Each individual expected something from the other members and responded to the expectations of the other members. This generated a sense of loyalty and group solidarity. It is in this way that the group was not only well-knit as an ingroup it also developed a certain set of norms which regulated activities of the group as well as the behaviour of the individual members within the group. Whyte also found that there were all kinds of frictions

25

within the group for status. When the members with high status did not fulfill the expectations or when the individuals pursued goals which were not conducive to the goals of the group, there were frictions and conflict between the members. This might lead to a disintegration of the group. Whyte also found that the conflict may arise from outside when the group is unable to withstand conflicts with the other groups or with the society at large, there would be friction and mutual bickerings, fault finding etc. Another major factor of disintegration of the group was when a member of the group got a job or got married. When a member got a job he was unable to devote his whole time for the group activities as previously. So among these unemployed youth, as individuals obtained employment, the group would disintegrate. This indicates in a negative way the function and significance of the informally organized gang. It serves a very significant purpose so long as the young man is unemployed and is unmarried. In other words because the young man has no work to do, no responsibilities and hence no sense of importance, no social recognition, he gravitates towards the street corner gang, which gives him satisfaction for all these needs. It is in this way that the informal group provides the members with a feeling of importance, belongingness and security. On the other hand when these needs are achieved by employment and by marriage he gives up the membership of the group. So merely telling the boy or the young man not to join the street corner gang, or speaking about the evils which arise out of this membership, will not lead him to surrender his membership. It is only when opportunity is provided for the individual to obtain what the street corner gang gives that it is possible to dissuade him from being a member. This is as far as the individual is concerned but as far as the group is concerned the best way is to get the group to undertake activities which are in line with the social norms of the group as a whole and which will also provide for the needs which the individuals feel that they are deprived of./ This is the way in which in several modern cities by means of seva dals, scout groups, summer camps, recreation centres and so on these informal groups of unemployed young men are given due recognition and are encouraged to undertake activities which will

earn for them satisfaction and respect from the society as a whole.

In the particular group that Whyte was studying he found that the group disintegrated when the leader, who was the " soul of the group ", gave up something in which the whole group was very enthusiastic. The leader announced that he would stand for election in a political party. The whole group was enthusiastic about this. Suddenly he announced that he was withdrawing from the elections. The boys had no knowledge of the circumstances which led to the leader's withdrawal. Their faith in him was completely shaken up. They suspected that the leader withdrew from the elections after making a bargain with the rival. This was a big shock because they never expected this behaviour from the leader. The intensity of the shock experienced is proportional to the level of expectations. This led to the disintegration of the group and the leader who was so powerful in knitting the members together became a powerless individual. He lost his ' magic '. The members did not care for him. Whyte found that before long a new group with a new leader was formed, probably with new purposes and programmes of action. This is the characteristic feature of group behaviour ; disintegration with the loss of leadership is a temporary matter ; in a short while new groups will be formed.

Experimental production of group structures and attitudes

On the basis of the field study such as that of Whyte regarding the spontaneously organized small groups some social psychologists have developed a hypothesis which they have tried to test by means of experimental studies. We can now summarise the work of Sherif and his co-workers (2.301ff) who conducted an experiment to produce conditions conducive to the formation of groups. They tried to test the hypothesis whether individuals who have no established relationships with each other will form themselves into a group if they are brought together to interact in activities with common goals. To test this hypothesis Sherif and his co-workers brought together 24 boys of about 12 years of age who were as homogeneous as possible with respect to age, sex, education, religion, socio-economic status etc. They also took care to see that there were no previous

bonds of friendship or hostility among these individuals. Clinical tests were made in order to see that there were no "problem children" in the group. The boys came from Protestant American families of lower middle class with similar education. The experiment was started in summer in an isolated camp site. The nearest town was eight miles away. The study was made in 3 stages. We shall in this section summarise the results of the first two stages. The results of the third stage will be given later on. The first stage lasted for three days. The individuals were given maximum freedom to choose their friends, their activities, their rooms in the camp and so on. Thus this period was planned to study the techniques of spontaneous or informal group-formation among these boys who had not known each other previously. The four participant observers who noted down the behaviour of these individuals found that there was spontaneous formation of clusters and emergence of leaders in specific situations. At the end of three days socio-metric choices were obtained during informal interviews. It was found that the clusters were from 2 to 4 boys.

Observations of the second stage was started by deliberately splitting up the group into two groups. The friendship groups developed at the first stage were deliberately split up. The second stage lasted for five days. The two groups chose two different bunk houses where they lived and they went for hikes and other parties in opposite directions. It was found that at the beginning some boys showed resentment at being separated from their new-found friends. It was, however, later found that these two groups developed well-defined ingroup organizations. It was further found that the most popular person became the leader. It was also found that in each group there was another person or persons who were quite powerful though they were not popular. But these powerful persons yielded to the overall leadership of the popular person. As the group structure was formed members developed positive attitudes towards each other and norms were stabilised. Each group chose its own colour, its own group name, its own signs and so on. It was also found that each group had it own methods of praising and punishing. At the end of this stage socio-metric choices were again obtained in informal inter-

views. This revealed that there was a big difference between the choices at the end of the first stage and the choices at the end of the second stage. With the two groups of the second stage as the frame of reference, it was found that while at the end of the first stage 35% of the friends came from the ingroup and 65% from the outgroup, at the end of the second stage 90% were chosen from the ingroup and only 10% from the outgroup. Living together as an ingroup 'for five days considerably changed the friendship formation among these 24 boys. In the third stage which lasted for five days the two groups were pitted against each other and it was found that during this stage negative intergroup attitudes were developed.

The results of this experimental work confirm the hypothesis derived from the field studies of the small groups by sociologists.

Social factions

We can now proceed to a study of the relations between groups. Historians, sociologists and psychologists have always been interested in the study of intergroup conflicts. We can differentiate between two kinds of group interactions : (a) Interactions between two different groups like, for example, the Hindus and Muslims, the white and the coloured people, the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, the Maharashtrians and Gujeratis and so on ; (b) there are also conflicts between two sub-groups within an ingroup. We have the notorious factions in the villages, group formations within the political parties and group formations within associations. In this section we shall attempt to study the basic principles involved in intergroup conflicts and hostilities of these two kinds.

As we have seen above a group is a social unit with individuals who stand in more or less defined interdependent status relationships with one another and which possesses explicitly or implicitly a set of norms which regulate more or less the behaviour of the individual members. By the term " intergroup relations " we refer to the relations between two or more groups. As we have seen these groups may be within an ingroup. There may be group identifications within the group itself. The main thing is

that the individual should be conscious that he is a member of a particular group, that he reacts with another individual whom he regards as a member of the outgroup. However, it must be realised that these groups which we studied are not isolated and independent social units like the tribes studied by anthropologists. They are sub-units within a large group or within the nation. Consequently the properties of these sub-units are determined by the nature of the larger social units of which they are a part. It will be profitable to study the relations between small groups so that we can study the behaviour and attitudes of specific individuals in a concrete fashion. Just as in the last section, here also we shall study first the results obtained by sociologists in their field studies and then proceed to study the results obtained by psychologists using experimental methods.

As we have seen above the study of intergroup behaviour has its roots in the work of historians. Several factors have been singled out and emphasised in accounting for the intergroup behaviour. For example, some have emphasised the cultural differences as very important factors. Differences in national character have been stressed as a very important reason for bringing about intergroup conflicts. Others have placed major emphasis on the role of leadership. The significance of individual motives and frustrations with the ensuing displaced aggressions have also been emphasised by some scholars. In a broad way we may say that intergroup behaviour is the outcome of (a) internal factors like motives, attitudes etc., in the individual members and (b) external factors like the situational, the organizational, the socio-economic etc. It must further be realised that all these various factors are operative as interdependent factors in producing social conflicts.

Factions in Indian villages

Oscar Lewis and Dhillon (12) have made a study of the factions in a northern Indian village, using the field study method. They tried to find out the prevalent motives and the prevalent habits of the villagers. They also tried to find out the significant characteristics of leadership and group action in the villages. The village faction is a very

strong group with constructive and positive functions. It may be a kinship group. It affords its members help and protection, while it is hostile or merely indifferent to the other factions in the village. Age and birth are very important bases for leadership in the village. These factions unite temporarily when the whole village is faced with a crisis, or when the whole village has to cooperate to start a school or some such constructive work. It is also found that with increase in education, leadership basis is changing. Mere considerations of birth and age are no longer realistic. Leadership today is depending more on education and the possession of requisite knowledge and skill.

This study has further shown that factions are neither the unmitigated evil, nor are they unchangeable, as it is generally believed. It was found that factions are constantly changing.

It was found that a private interview is almost impossible in a village. This is one of the characteristic features of social behaviour in a village that when two people are talking others become interested in the conversation. So there is no question of privacy in the village. There is common participation. It was also found that the factions operate across village lines. They include other villages around. In a village of 150 families with a population of 1095 there were six factions among the 78 Jat families, two among the 20 Chamar families, two among the ten Bhangi families. It was found that from 1915—1930 there were only three factions among the Jat families. It was only since 1930 that the faction groups increased. It was further found that the faction is primarily a kinship unit, the membership being on the family basis and not on individual basis. There is the proverb "the enemy of your enemy is your friend". That is the way in which the families got related to each other. The factions operate as more or less cohesive units on ceremonial occasions, in court litigations, and in local, state or national elections. The families did not visit each other if they belonged to different factions. Further there is vicious gossip about the members of the rival factions, but direct attack in public is rare. The study also revealed that those factions, which are relatively neutral and which have friendly relations with all the groups, are the most influential in the village. All the

various factions cooperate on major occasions like funerals, building village works or cleaning the village pond. Another unique feature is that they present the appearance of unity to the outsiders. For example, if two men of hostile factions have their daughters married in the same village each man will visit both the girls so that the people of the other village get the notion of harmonious relationships. The authors have drawn a sociogram among these six factions of the Jats. They further found that these factions are historical, tracing their hostilities, some to a 100 years, and some even to 200 years. Consequently the authors state that the faction is a basic aspect of the traditional village social organization like caste or *gotra*. The members of the factions help each other and this is one of the basic factors leading to the stability and perpetuation of the faction.

The villagers themselves are aware of the reasons which bring about factions and quarrels. There is a popular saying among the villagers that factions revolve round " wealth, woman and land ". Disputes over house sites and irrigation rights, quarrels regarding inheritance of land, adoption of sons, quarrels over sexual offences, and quarrels which lead to murders, these cause and accentuate the factions. It was further found that the number of factions increased very sharply since 1939. Factors like the rapid rise in population, the gradual weakening of the joint family, the increased education and the increased vertical economic mobility are held to be responsible for the number of factions. The authors hope that these very factors may ultimately lead to the elimination of factions based on kinship, particularly education may lead to friendships which are of the non-kinship variety and ultimately to leadership which is of non-kinship variety. Because caste and kinship are of the very core of the village social organization, the village community is not a cohesive unit. Kinship leads to close affiliation with the other villages because the loyalties are primarily to one's own family and to one's own caste group. There is no loyalty towards the village as such. Another feature is that the decision-making process is left to the ' caste panchayat. ' This is why the ' village panchayat ' is not in an effective position. Further in the caste panchayat the leader has really no freedom to

make any decision for the group as a whole. According to the social norms of the caste panchayat, the leader has to convene the group, consult, and then arrive at a decision. This implies that the leader by himself cannot make a decision and cannot expect to get the full support of the group for the decision that he has made. This is where the caste panchayat democracy is different from the modern constitutional democracy where the group delegates its authority to the individual who is selected to represent it. The theoretical assumption behind the modern democratic system is that an individual is capable of independent thinking and arriving at his own decisions. On the other hand the faction leader or the caste panchayat leader is essentially a spokesman for the group of the families but has little authority to make independent decisions or to exercise power over the group.

This study also reveals that there is no such thing as a village-wide leadership. There are no outstanding citizens who are popular in the villages as a whole or respected as the village heroes. This is due to the fact that there is a constant effort to play down individual differences. According to Oscar Lewis and Dhillon, this playing down of individual differences is one of the crucial values in the village culture. Probably it may be generalised that this is a crucial value in towns and cities as well. There is constantly the effort to minimise rank and status differences. Recognition is not given to any outstanding achievement because no achievement is looked upon as outstanding. This is why, probably, we find that till recently the biographies of outstanding men of India of the 19th and 20th centuries have been written by foreigners rather than by Indians. An Indian is looked upon as outstanding if he achieves reputation in foreign countries. There is a common saying in Kannada " The medicinal plant in the backyard of one's house has no value ". The second condition which leads to the recognition of an individual's achievement is based on supreme sacrifice (*tyaga*). It is only under these two conditions, foreign recognition and genuine sacrifice, that there is a status difference. Otherwise any outstanding achievement tends to be played down. There is yet the emphasis for ascribed status. There is respect for the position itself rather than for the individual's achievement,

what is popularly recognized as the *sthanabala*. The man who gets that position will be respected not because of his merits, not because of his achievements, but simply because he is occupying that position. Yet another aspect of the leadership pattern in the villages and probably of the towns and cities as well, is the stress on age. The investigators found that most of the leaders of the several factions in the village studied, were over 40 years. This implies once again the strength of the ascribed status rather than achieved status. All these factors make it difficult for an individual with talents to achieve a village-wide leadership. Probably this also explains why in the various political parties in the various states we find that caste plays such an important part in Indian democracy today. The same problems as are found in the village leadership appear to be present in the leadership in the whole state as well.

Lewis and Dhillon try to show that these village factions have both positive as well as negative aspects which are very significant for the community development work in the villages. The existence of factions provides a readymade channel to communicate with a large number of families. They also provide cooperative groups who may gather together. There is a close relationship between the leader and the members of the group which is not a feature among the modern western nations. They also believe that it may be possible to channelise the hostilities between groups into positive and constructive directions. As regards the negative aspects they find that the official headman of the village has really no control over the whole village because of the existence of these factions. They found that association with the official headman of the village may find a large portion of the villagers hostile to them. They report that it took them six weeks to overcome the difficulties which arose by their contacting first a government servant who was a member of one of the factions. All the other groups kept away from the investigators because they were associating with a member of one of the factions. In order to check some of these findings the investigators convened, for experimental purposes, a meeting of the faction leaders. They kept careful notes of the conversation and behaviour of every member of the group. It was found that within half an hour there were open attacks against each other. The

ostensible purpose of the meeting was to find out what the village leaders would do to promote the welfare of the village. After a good deal of discussion they agreed to clean the village pond and promised to contribute only labour and not money. This decision appeared to be more to please the community project officers rather than for the welfare of their own village. Finally one of the more aggressive and sophisticated faction leaders stood up and asserted that some money could also be collected and promised that his group would contribute a sum of Rs. 100/- more than any other group in the village. This led to various leaders promising to collect money.

Lewis and Dhillon also report about an incident which helps us to understand the behaviour of the people in the village. One of the project executive officers came to the village accompanied by the headmaster of a secondary school of a neighbouring village. He called for a meeting of the villagers and it was found that only a few of them turned up and the meeting was very dull. The officer left with a feeling that the villagers were apathetic. Later enquiry revealed that the headmaster who accompanied the project executive officer was an outstanding leader of one of the two factions active in the whole area comprising a number of villages. Because the officer brought him with him, only the members of that faction attended the meeting. The members of the other factions did not attend the meeting because they did not believe in the impartiality of the officer. Thus, a thorough understanding of the operation of the factions in a village is very necessary for any effective work in the village. Ignoring these village factions and caste groups will only lead to lukewarm participation in any activity that is set up.

Experimental approach to intergroup relations

Relationships of small groups will help us to analyse not only the structural properties of the group but also to study intergroup relations. The great advantage of experimental work is that we can control the conditions and study the variables. If the experiment is properly conceived and executed it will help us to verify specific hypotheses which we derive from the field studies. It must be

realised that experimental study of intergroup relations is not an easy task. We have to control the conditions, to make it appear that field conditions are quite normal and that the groups are functioning under normal conditions and are not under artifically controlled conditions. This is indeed a difficult task. Sherif and his co-workers conducted an experiment, parts of which we have already reviewed in the previous section. We can here summarise the results of the third stage of the experiment that we referred to earlier. In order to make the conditions of intergroup behaviour as normal as possible, the subjects were informed that they (the investigators) were attending the camps which were set up to study camping methods and group living in general. So they were not aware that their behaviour with respect to intergroup relations were being studied. As we have seen earlier, a group of 24 boys were allowed to live together for three days and then they were divided into two groups of 12 each and were allowed to develop ingroup relationships so that each group became highly stabilised. In the third stage in order to study intergroup relations specific conditions were set up which led to friction between the two groups. Situations were so selected that the attainment of the goal by one group meant failure or frustration to the other group. Thus each group looked upon the other group as trying to frustrate it.

Competitive games like tug-of-war were introduced. At the beginning there were signs of good " sportsmanship ". The winners and losers cheered each other, But when one group continually won, the groups tended to solidify further. Intergroup rivalry became more intense and expressions of hostility toward the outgroup became more frequent. The losers labelled the winners as " dirty players " and " cheats ". The losing group had considerable frustrations. The leader became vindictive and blamed the low-status members of his group for the defeat. On the other hand the low-status members were hostile not only to the other group but also to their own leader. They resented the accusations of their leader. Thus there were ingroup conflicts in the frustrated group. The winning group had on the other hand heightened ingroup pride and identification.

At this stage the experimenter planned another situation

in which the defeated group arrived earlier and took away the best half of the refreshments. The winners arrived a little later and had to take the worst half of the refreshments. This again led to further intensification of ingroup hostility. There was free name-calling. The next morning one group retaliated by deliberately dirtying the breakfast table so that the work of the other group which had to clean up became more hard. At lunch time the hostility increased. Each group threw food, cups, and spoons at the other group and fighting started. Each group accused the other group of starting the fight. Neither group was sure as to who started the fight. At this point the experiment was stopped, but the conflict between the two groups did not stop. It was only after two days of great effort by the staff that the group fighting stopped. " The results of the intergroup relations in competitive and frustrating situations were to solidify ingroup belongingness and solidarity and to strengthen ingroup attitudes and to generate and increase attitudes of hostility towards the outgroup. These attitudes of hostility included specific name-calling which came close to standardisation of negative stereotypes " (2.298). Thus, by experimentation Sherif and his coworkers were able to show that the various stages of group formation and group hostility culminated in physical violence (See Chapter XIV). Intergroup hostility may lead to ingroup hostility. Thus solidarity and cooperation within the group does not necessarily mean that the group will cooperate with the other groups.

In another study Sherif tried to find methods to reduce intergroup conflict after experimentally inducing the conflict. The two hostile groups were provided opportunities to mix together in the dining hall, in the theatre and so on. It was found that contact situation did not reduce intergroup friction. Often the members of the two groups used these situations to call names at each other though the activities themselves were satisfaction-producing like eating together and seeing a picture together and so on. Still the contacts did not lead to the reduction of friction. The experimenters next set up a series of superordinate goals which could be solved only by cooperation with the other group. The situations required cooperative planning as well as execution. For example, the two groups were told

that there was trouble in the water supply system. It was found that both the groups volunteered to tackle the situation but neither could solve the problem by itself. It was only through cooperative action of both the groups that ultimately the problem was solved. However, it was observed by the experimenters that this cooperative action did not eliminate the stabilised intergroup friction. At the supper table the two groups again reacted to each other with hostility. After a series of joint activities to attain superordinate goals, the cumulative effect was a reduction of friction. At the end of the experiment the two groups by their own initiative planned a joint programme of camp fire and entertainment. Thus, Sherif and his co-workers have shown the way in which from together situation there is the group formation and how from the stage of group formation, factions could be experimentally set up, and how these hostile groups could be made to reduce the hostility by setting up situations where the two groups had to cooperate with each other in order to attain superordinate goals.

Social tensions in India

We can now briefly indicate the way in which hostilities arise between groups which are well formed in a society. A number of studies have been made since 1950 in India to study the group tensions (13, 14 & 15). Due to the intergroup hatred between Hindus and Muslims the country had to be divided into India and Pakistan before the country could become independent. It is needless to recall the suffering of millions of people who were uprooted because of this partition of the country. Even after 12 years we find that the rehabilitation programmes for the refugees have not been completed. The essential principles are the same whether we study the factions in the villages or the group tensions in the larger society. Often we tend to look at these problems as entirely distinct. Our analysis has shown that they are not distinct. Intergroup frictions and intragroup frictions demonstrate the operation of the same principles of group formation. No society is free from intergroup frictions and intragroup frictions. It is generally presumed that the Muslims are a well-knit group. It

is also asserted that Islam is a binding force. Contrast is made between the cementing forces of Islam and the absorptive and divisive forces in Hinduism. Both these views are based on stereotypes. The history of India and Pakistan in the last 12 years has shown that divisive forces are operative much more in Pakistan than in India. As a matter of fact in the last 10 years country after country in the Middle East as well as in the Far East, in Indonesia which is populated by Muslims, has seen revolutions and military dictatorships and civil wars. If religion could be a binding force Europe would not have been the arena for international wars in the last several centuries. So it must be realised that whether people belong to the same religion or not there will be intergroup hostilities and social tensions.

We may briefly review some of the areas in Indian society which have led to group tensions in the last few years. We have already seen the way in which differences in religion set up group frictions. Apart from Hindu-Muslim frictions and hostilities there are also innumerable cases of group hostilities based on differences in sect. For example among the Hindus the friction and hostility between Saivaites and Vaishnavaites is age-old. Sometimes this hostility has even led to physical violence. It must also be realised that there have been social tensions and hostilities among the sub-sects within Vaishnavism as well as within Saivism. Probably it is difficult to say whether a person of a sub-sect among the Vaishnavaites hates the other Vaishnavaite sect more or the Saivaite sect more or the non-Hindu religious groups more.

Another peculiar source of group tension has been based on caste. The Hindu-Harijan group tension has led, as we have already seen, to a prominent social distance which survived thousands of years. It is only now since the Gandhian Era and particularly since the drawing up of the Indian Constitution that the social distance is slowly vanishing. Still we find that in the villages Harijans are treated as untouchables. Even though tremendous steps have been taken to eliminate the social injustices to the Harijans, still the Harijan leaders are feeling strongly that the social injustices are continuing. Particularly the Harijan youth is becoming impatient of the slow progress because they have now become socially conscious and sensi-

tive due to higher education and employment opportunities. Among the so-called Savarna Hindus themselves there are group conflicts in abundance. There is hatred between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. But this should not lead us to believe that all Brahmins are united and all non-Brahmins are united as two solid groups. We find that each sub-sect and sub-caste among the Brahmins has hatred towards the other and similarly among the non-Brahmins. It should also be realised that within the sub-caste there are group formations and group rivalries. In fact within a joint family or even a " nuclear family " we can find illustrations of group formations.

A third source of group conflict is language. The people who speak one language consider themselves as an ingroup and consider the people who speak the language in the neighbouring area as members of the outgroup. This must not lead us to believe that there is complete cohesion and harmony within any one linguistic group. As we have seen above with respect to matters of religion, sect, caste and other such factors, the people who speak one language are divided within themselves. Identification with language is a very strong social factor. That is why we call our language the " mother tongue ". We thus identify our language with our mother. Still it must be realised that language is learnt behaviour. No child can pick up the mother tongue unless that language is spoken not only by the mother but by the family and the neighbourhood. This is why in recent years we speak more in terms of regional language rather than in terms of mother tongue. The identification with language has led to the re-distribution of India into linguistic states and in the one state which was bi-lingual namely Bombay State there was constant agitation for the division of the state according to the linguistic lines. Decision was taken to split it up and the Gujarat and Maharashtra States were formed recently. Another very important source of agitation which now and then manifests itself in open conflict is the Hindi-non-Hindi controversy. Though about 50% of the population of India speak and understand Hindi, still large tracts in the south, east, and west as well as in the north look upon Hindi as an alien language and look upon it as a threat to the existence of their own respective languages.
- Another very important area of group tensions is based on

economic considerations. There are two very important areas of conflict namely capitalist-labour and landlord-landless agricultural labour. The Marxian theory based itself on the conflict between the capitalist class and the labouring classes. As a matter of fact we find that the highly advanced capitalistic countries like America, Britain, Germany, Japan and other countries have not been affected by communist philosophy. On the other hand in the recent years we find that this conflict between the landlord and the landless labourer is being affected by communist philosophy, particularly in China and in India in some parts like Kerala, Andhra, Bengal etc. This is the reason why the Congress Party has introduced the concept and programme of " Socialistic Pattern of Society " in order to bring about re-distribution of wealth and economic opportunities, without involving class conflict and revolution based on class interests.

Tensions based on caste, religion, sect and language are due to considerations based on birth. In the recent years in India, as well as in the world as a whole, there is a shift from the importance that was given in the olden days to birth, to the importance given to achieved status where it is the man's ability and application that are much more important to determine his status than the family into which or the group into which he happens to be born. Social prestige, economic prosperity, political power and all these are now being removed from the domination of birth considerations, and emphasis is being placed upon an individual's achievement. This is a very important way of reducing the group tensions and leading to social harmony. It must however be borne in mind that social tension is a recurring phenomenon of interpersonal and intergroup relations. There will always be the need for some kind of social education or the other. It is idle to imagine that at any time society will be free from tensions. The Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata which are supposed to depict the life in Threthayuga and Dwapara Yuga are replete with social tensions, social revolutions, and war. Epics of all lands delineate conditions of war, hatred and jealousy. Thus neither in the past, nor in the present has society been free from social tension. So it is futile to imagine it will be free from social tensions in the future. As we have seen prejudice is learnt behaviour. It is motivated beha-

26

viour. We continue to have prejudices and probably even cherish them because they satisfy certain deep needs like the need for security or the need for prestige and recognition. We have also seen that prejudice is a collective phenomenon. It is transmitted from generation to generation within the group. So, it can be eliminated only by collective effort. In the recent years numerous organizations have been started all over the world to establish better understanding of intergroup relations. We have programmes of exchange of teachers and students, exchange of, not only political, but cultural delegations, so that we can understand those who have not adopted our way of life, but still have noble aspirations which we could understand and respect. However, it must be realised that prejudice cannot be eradicated by mere intellectual understanding or even by social contacts. Prejudice can be eradicated only by emotional acceptance of the way of life of the other groups. Experimental results of Sherif and his co-workers have shown that it is through frequent cooperative acts to attain superordinate goals that group tensions could be reduced. Another very important factor to be borne in mind is the hypothesis of Dollard and Miller regarding " frustration-aggression ". Aggression and aggressive behaviour could be traced to some frustration. The Gita expresses this belief when it asserts *kamath krodhobhi jayathe* (16), that when we have desires which can never be satisfied, such desires lead to aggressive behaviour because they are not satisfied. So any programme to reduce group conflict should endeavour to eradicate those economic, social and political conditions which lead to widespread anxieties and animosities. Today we find that the economically advanced countries, instead of planning for colonialism and exploitation of the underdeveloped countries as in the 18th and 19th centuries, are now drawing up programmes to help the underdeveloped countries to grow and develop in the economic field. Self-interest as well as compassion dictate this new policy. In India we find that economic and social injustices are today resented much more than at any time in the history of our land. With political independence there is a desire for social and economic equality and this is the reason why the state has now undertaken the Five Year Plans and a good deal of social legislation in the recent

years. Gandhi put forth the concept of *sarvodaya* so that every single individual in this land has the right and opportunity to develop to his capacity, so that there will not be social tensions based on jealousy and hatred of the other individuals and the other groups. However, it must be realised that social friction and social conflict cannot be absolutely removed from any society. It can only be transformed so that it has no ugly consequences. Another very important means which we have to adopt in order to reduce group tensions is regarding the socialization of the child. As we have seen, loving others is a learnt behaviour which arises as a result of socialization. If parents and other members of the society do not induce prejudices among the growing children then the chances of group prejudices will be lessened.

Group dynamics

In the second part as well as the third part of this book we have dealt with the problem of the behaviour of the individual in the group. In this part and particularly in this chapter and in the following two chapters we are dealing with the behaviour of the group itself. We have seen that, when two or more individuals come together, and work for certain common goals, so that a group structure, as well as group norms, are set up, we have the formation of groups. This implies that the behaviour of the individual influences the behaviour of the other individuals in the group and conversely the behaviour of the other individuals influences the behaviour of the given individual. This is group dynamics. Thus, group-dynamics indicates the adjustive changes which are occurring in the group as a whole as a result of the changes which are occurring in any part of the group. We have already seen that till a few years ago social scientists and social philosophers used the concept of 'group mind' in order to explain why the behaviour of an individual in a group is different from the behaviour of the individual when he is alone. As we have illustrated in this part the behaviour of the individual is affected by the behaviour of the other individuals when he is a member of a group. Thus, the concept of group dynamics has supplanted the old concept of group mind. When we study the

group as a whole we are aware of studying changes which occur in the behaviour of the individuals and how these changes are transmitted to all the individuals, to the total field, so that the behaviour of the group is altered. So it is not necessary to postulate either the concept of a group mind or any biological factor like the instinct of gregariousness in order to account for the behaviour of the group. We have further seen that culture determines group behaviour. The social psychologist seeks to explain group behaviour on the basis of social interaction and cultural transmission through social interaction. This interactive psychological relationship is termed " group dynamics ". Thus, according to the present view, we can understand group behaviour only if we take into account both the personality of the individual and the character of the social situation. In other words group behaviour is a function of both the individual and the social situation. It must, however, be borne in mind that all the psychological effects take place within the individual members who compose the group.

We have already seen that the group discussion method helps in changing the social behaviour and the adoption of new social norms. It would be useful to give some further details about the work of Lewin and his associates regarding group dynamics. Lewin (17) found that information when conveyed by the lecture method brought about change in behaviour in 3% of the women. On the other hand when the same information was communicated by means of the discussion method 32% of the women used the new foods which were recommended by nutritionists. In another study it was found that the mothers who participated in group discussion used codliver oil to feed their infants more readily than the mothers who were exposed to the lecture method. 45% of the mothers used codliver oil two weeks after group discussion and 90% of them used it 4 weeks after the discussion, while only 20% and 55% respectively used codliver oil after hearing the lecture. It was also found that 90% of the mothers used orange juice two weeks after the group discussion and the entire group four weeks after the group discussion, as against 35% and 55% respectively among those who listened to the lecture. These results show that the discussion method is far superior to the lecture method in bringing about a social change.

According to Lewin the superiority of the discussion method is due to the greater involvement of the individuals in the problem under discussion. Lecture method makes people passive whereas discussion method makes them active participants./ Secondly, we find that in group discussion the doubts in the individual members and feelings of insecurity could be dispelled much more easily than when the individual receives the information either as an individual or in a group through a lecture. Finally, there is also the problem of the social norm and group dynamics. When a number of other people give their assent to a new proposal, action along these lines becomes more easy. Very few individuals can deviate from the social norm on their own effort. On the other hand when the group itself shows a readiness to change by active participation then actual social change becomes possible. The change will be even more when the group actually takes the decision to change. The group decision involves the group as a whole and gives a group sanction to the change. People need not be afraid that if they change they will be deviating from the social norm.

Coch and French (18) report a study which they made in a sewing factory. The management of the factory found it necessary to change the workers from one job to another and also to adopt new methods in doing old jobs. They found that even very efficient operators showed an immediate and marked drop in production when they were transferred to the new unit. The management believed that the job was not intrinsically more difficult. So they thought this drop in production may be due more to problems of motivation rather than to technical problems. So an experiment was conducted. The workers to be transferred were divided into three groups equal to one another with respect to efficiency. The first group was the control group, the members of which were introduced to the new section following the usual method. They were called together and they were informed about the changes. It was found that there was a big drop in production. The group reacted unfavourably and even after 8 weeks only 38% had reached the standard level of productivity. It was also found that a number of men left their jobs. The second group was called together and they were not only

informed about the change but an explanation was given regarding the need for the change. Through group discussion it was found that the group agreed that a change was necessary. After this the new methods were explained in detail. When this group was transferred it was found that there was an initial drop but there was a good recovery and no worker left the job. The third group was treated in the same way as the second group ; only they were asked to participate in the work as "special operators". So there was prestige attached to the transfer. This group was even superior to the second group. The drop in production was the smallest and the recovery was the quickest. There were, thus, striking differences in productivity due to the different conditions under which the transfer was made. When there was group discussion and group decision there was not only increase in productivity there was also no labour turnover and there was no aggression against the management. When a group understands the change, agrees to the change and when there is a group decision with respect to the change, the productivity increases.

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MASS BEHAVIOUR

IN THIS chapter we can study the behaviour of large groups of people who mass together either spontaneously or by design. It will be profitable to study the mass behaviour in terms of (a) mass society (b) crowd behaviour (c) audience.

Mass society

In a primitive tribe the way of life of the several families is much the same. The society as a whole is a small society. Each individual knows that he has duties towards some individuals and claims on some other individuals. Generally all these duties and claims are determined by kinship. There is intimate face to face relationship, so that each person knows the other persons intimately. So the social situations are all very simple and the social intercourse is personal.

The people in the villages have a relatively simple social situation. The people of the village also form a primary group with intimate personal relationships with the others. Practically each person in the village knows the other persons, but the behaviour of the individuals is not tied down to the village. There are social relationships with the people of the other villages, with the people of neighbouring cities and towns. Still the dominant feature of rural behaviour is personal contact. Though there is division of labour in the Indian village, and the division of society into castes, still the village group is an integrated group, where each individual has a part to play in the life of the village as a whole. Consequently there is intimate face to face relationship though customs may differ. These customs are known. For example, when the Harijan in the village, or the farmer in the village, or the carpenter, smokes a *beedi* the village people accept it. On the other hand if the Brahmin of the village smokes a *beedi*, probably all the villagers will be upset. Thus what a man does will be ap-

proved or disapproved depending upon the caste to which he belongs. That is why the ancient Indian books laid down the duties of the several castes. These are enforced by personal contacts. Thus, the behaviour of the village is much more complicated than the behaviour in a tribal group. But it is relatively simple in comparison with urban behaviour.

The most ancient Indian civilizations of Harappa and Mohenjodaro are urban civilizations. " The very existence of these large cities, and of the bigger towns as well, must presuppose a considerable agricultural population producing an adequate surplus beyond its immediate needs for the sale to the towns, and the invariable use of burnt clay bricks throughout the Harappa culture must imply far greater timber resources for firing the kilns than the present vegetation of tamarisk and scrub would afford " (1.134). Thus more than 5000 years ago there were urban civilizations in India. We have had big cities like Delhi, Hampi, Conjeevaram, Madura and so on in ancient as well as medieval times. But it must be said that though tens of thousands and some times lakhs of people lived in these big Indian cities still social contacts were essentially of the face to face type. This is why probably even today, when a man wants to meet another man he tries to approach him through his relatives and friends. This is a typical illustration of rural behaviour in the urban setting.

In contrast, in a modern industrial society human relations have become impersonal due to technological progress and industrialisation. Modern cities have a very highly complex society. The most significant feature of the modern world is the domination of the secondary groups over the primary. This is why Mannheim (2) characterises the modern society as 'mass society'. " Mass Society is characterised by rationality, impersonal relations, extreme specialisation of roles, loneliness for the individual in spite of concentration of sheer numbers and loss of sense of intimacy and security. In such societies suggestion, persuasion, propaganda, demagoguery and other aspects of crowd behaviour are common " (3.5). The modern cities are growing very rapidly and consist of millions of human beings. The cities are growing because of the industrial progress; but this massing of human beings has reduced the possibilities

of personal contacts. Contacts become not only impersonal but also impermanent. This is the big contrast between the personal relationships in the villages and the old type of urban areas on the one hand, and the new type of urban areas on the other. In contrast to the intimate contacts between persons even when there is division of labour, as in villages and in the old cities of India, in the new cities the contacts become impersonal. In the village as well as in the non-industrialised city or town, a person gets the tailor to come to his house to take measurements and stitch the clothes ; the dhobi comes and collects the linen and washes them and brings them back. The barber comes at the stipulated times, the goldsmith comes and manufactures the jewels sitting in the house. Thus even though there was division of labour in ancient India, a division of labour that was perpetuated through the caste system, still social behaviour had the intimate personal relationship. On the other hand today we find that in the industrialised cities these personal relationships are replaced by impersonal relationships. The role functions become very significant. The young man at the post-office, the bank clerk, the salesman in the big shop, the manager in a big office, the ticket collector in the railway station, are all people whom we meet for specific purposes. We do not know anything at all about any one of them. We meet them because they are doing certain specific functions. We may even chat with them, but we do not know who they are, what their families are. This is the difference between the modern urban society and the ancient urban society.

The personal relationships in the village are of very great significance to the human beings. They satisfy the deep-seated needs for affection and security. Consequently the loss of these personal relationships in the modern big cities creates a sense of insecurity, loneliness and incompleteness. To overcome this insecurity and loneliness the man of the city becomes a member of several voluntary organizations like associations and clubs. We find in India that many of the city people who have this sense of insecurity and loneliness affiliate themselves with one or the other of the *ashrams*. Thousands of people spend lakhs of rupees to go to these *ashrams* and spend two or three days there and feel a sense of purpose and orientation to

life and its problems. The city people also derive great pleasure and sense of satisfaction by crowd contacts. In all the big cities of the world, individuals, or a small group of friends, walk up and down in the crowd on the busy roads, or go to the parks, or go to the cinemas, and the big sports events. They are in the midst of hundreds, probably thousands, of human beings. Another escape from loneliness is by reading novels, and comic books, and thrillers, or they may sit for hours together in their own room switching on the radio and listening to the music and the drama. By reading and listening they try to be in touch with other human beings, though they are alone in their rooms. But all these various kinds of secondary contacts do not restore the sense of security, emotional warmth and integration. The sports stadium, the radio, the cinema, and the restaurant give only partial satisfaction to the sense of loneliness and insecurity of the modern man in the big city.

Another characteristic of the mass society is the impersonal relationship with other human beings. Though we come into contact with hundreds of human beings in face-to-face relationship everyday, we are only in role relationship with them. We meet the other human beings as clerks, postmen, policemen, business executives, administrators, legislators and so on. But we do not have that sense of intimacy and solidarity which is obtained in the personal relationships in the village. There is no permanence or continuity in the human relation. They are only transitory contacts. The worker in the factory, where thousands are working, the clerk in the office, where hundreds are working, the student in the school or college, where hundreds or even thousands are studying have very transitory contacts with other people. On the other hand, the human being craves for a permanence and continuity of personal relationship as a foundation for his life. In America even the parent-child relationship becomes impersonal after a certain age. There is not that warmth. Consequently there is great danger in the highly technological societies of neurosis (4). There is very little opportunity for individuals to become self-involved in their relationships with other people. This impersonality has its own advantages and disadvantages. Instead of leading to detachment, this

impersonal relationship leads to increasing alienation from fellow human beings. This is where we find a big difference between the ancient Indian outlook regarding impersonality and the modern western outlook. As we have seen above, for the highest development of man, he must be fully involved in human relationships, in the family setting as well as in work relationships. When his responsibilities are over, when his sons and daughters are independent, the man, according to ancient Indian *ashrama dharma* has become detached from these human relationships and enters into a stage in life where he looks upon all human beings alike. This is the ideal of *sanyasa*. But the detachment and impersonality implied in *sanyasa* is quite different from the detachment and impersonality stressed in the western culture, which has led to the mass society.

Huge concentration of population in the modern cities is leading to the loss of individuality among the human beings. Though the student is living in a hostel where hundreds of other students are living he may feel lonely. Similarly the family which lives in a flat in a big tenement house has no personal relationships with the neighbours. This is the paradox of mass society, that an individual or a family which is living in the midst of hundreds or even thousands of people, feels lonely. There is also a sense of anonymity. This is one of the important reasons for crime in the larger cities. In a village no man can commit a crime and escape detection within a few minutes; but in a city thousands of crimes are being committed without their being detected. No police force of any degree of efficiency can prevent crime in a big city. One of the important reasons for this is the anonymity of the individual, who does not feel that he is breaking a social norm. On the other hand, it is possible that the secondary association of a gang or a criminal group may applaud him for having committed the crime. There is also loss of individuality in the mass society. The man feels that he is unimportant. There is no satisfaction for his desire for personal significance. There is a great deal of social distance in city life. A man does not know his neighbours, either in the area in which he is living, or in the organization in which he is working. Vast differences in wealth also bring about great social distance. There is little opportunity to share in the atti-

tudes, outlooks, and beliefs of other human beings excepting in the impersonal secondary associations. Even recreations, as we have seen above, are passive and solitary. Normally recreation implies an intimate social relationship. But when a man is seated in the theatre and watching a film or a play or when he is sitting in the stadium and watching cricket or football he is passive and solitary. " He has a wider range of choices, he is more detached from others, more free from emotional bonds with them. But in this very condition of detachment man finds himself in a dilemma : he is freed from social involvements which have always been man's source of security and sense of belongingness ; instead man finds himself competitive toward, unfriendly with, or hostile to his fellowmen" (5.410).

In all countries in the world today, man is finding himself in a new predicament because of the dynamic changes in society as a result of technological progress. There is a lack of satisfaction with the traditional roles and the traditional standard of life. Parents are eager to give better education to their children so that they can rise in socioeconomic status and earn wealth and prestige. Every man in the city has an ambition to earn more and obtain greater prestige. This leads to a discontentment with the traditional roles. This is one of the most important features of modern society. A man seeks to have more wealth, and better position as he grows older. This is the reason why there are salary grades in all the various organizations, public as well as private. Yet another feature is the widespread democratisation of wants. Every man desires to have a cycle, a watch, a radio, and a number of other articles. All this means more money and consequently there is, on the one hand the desire to become more efficient so that one can earn more money, and on the other hand, the discontentment with what he has already got.

Keen competition is one of the outstanding features of modern life. We compete with other individuals so that we can become more efficient, earn more money and have higher prestige. But this competition also produces instability in the individual because he may have hostility towards the competitor. This is one of the greatest dangers. Expression of hostility, as well as repression of hostility, bring about disastrous individual and social consequences.

Karen Horney has shown that the sense of isolation and insecurity of the modern man is due to the fear of one's competitor, and the fear of failure, and loss of status. Thus, both the man who succeeds, as well as the man who fails, suffer from intense fear and repressed hostility on account of the competitiveness.

Another significant feature of mass society, with its desire for crowd contacts, is irrationality, susceptibility to propaganda and advertisement. In this there is a paradox. Technological progress and impersonality are based on rational grounds. It is because of purposive thinking that technological progress is possible, but technological progress has also led to the vast concentration of population in cities and also to the mass media of communications. The sense of insecurity and sense of loneliness makes the individual irrational. This has led to vast crowd-formations, as well as all kinds of social movements. Thus in the mass society there is a mixture of the rational and irrational. One sees fantastic films and reads novels and thrillers, becomes an agitator and may become a member of a violent mob or have pathetic faith in new social movements which will bring about paradise on earth in a short time.

There are a number of conflicts in the mind of modern man. For example, the striving for success will come into conflict with the ideals of service. The striving for success may lead the man to succeed at any cost, by harming the other individuals and by corruption and deceit. Similarly, there is the conflict between faith in freedom, and the increasing controls that restrain our actions. For example, after independence the Indian legislatures and Parliament have passed hundreds of laws restraining the freedom of individuals. There is the contrast between individual freedom and nationalization. There is also the contrast between the principle of equality before the law and using influence to get things done or to escape from punishment.

India is now passing through a very critical period. Traditional cultural values have promoted emotional stability, individual freedom, and individual development. The traditional culture has also promoted social harmony. On the other hand the vast movements that have been set afoot in the recent years, to eradicate poverty among the large masses have led us to adopt modern technological

methods. Our cities are becoming bigger every year. Huge factories are being established where thousands of people from the country-side come to work. So it is necessary to see that we do not establish the mass society with all its dangers and disabilities for the individual as well as the society.

Crowd behaviour — the mob

The term crowd has been used by laymen as well as social scientists in varying ways. The collection of human beings in the market or on the road or in the *maidan* are designated as the crowd. Brown (6) has tried to introduce an order in the usage by making the term crowd a more general term which includes the active crowd or the kinetic crowd, namely, the mob, and the passive crowd, namely the audiences. We may adopt this classification :

THE VARIETIES OF CROWDS

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                                  Crowds
                                    |
                    +---------------+---------------+
                    |                               |
                  Mobs                          Audiences
                    |                               |
     +--------+-----+------+----------+       +------+------+
     |        |            |          |       |             |
 Aggressive Escape   Acquisitive  Expressive Casual    Intentional
     |        |                                             |
     |     +--+---+                                     +----+----+
     |     |      |                                     |         |
     |  Panics  Panics                              Recrea-    Infor-
     |  in un-  in or-                               tional    mation
     |  organ   ganized                                        seeking
     |  ized    crowds
     |  crowds
     |
  +--+-------+--------+
  |          |        |
Lynching Terrorization Riots
```
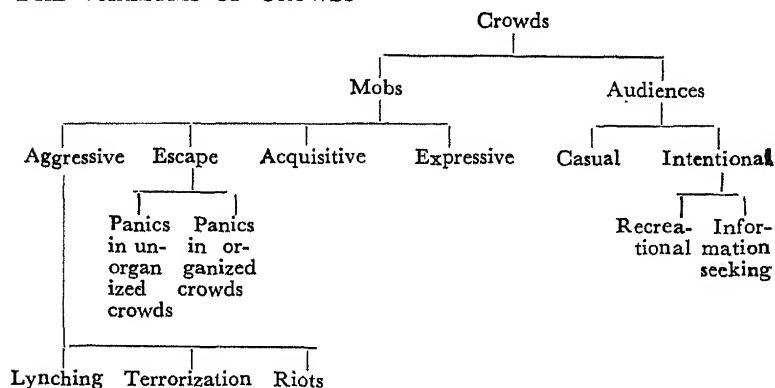
(BROWN 6.841)

In a general way we may say that all crowds whether they are mobs or audiences are collectivities which congregate in a particular place and are co-active, shoulder-to-shoulder, anonymous, casual, temporary and unorganized. Kimball Young (3.387) defines it as follows : " A crowd is a gathering of considerable number of persons around a centre or point of common attention ". Such a definition includes mobs as well as audiences. A passive crowd like an audience may

convert itself into a mob under certain circumstances. For example, when a meeting is held in a hall which is too small for the gathering we can observe characteristics of mob behaviour on several occasions. Similarly sometimes it happens that the college students who have assembled in a hall to witness a variety programme may behave like a mob when they do not like the performance of a musician or a dancer. On the other hand, the mob which is quite active and highly emotional may convert itself into an audience when some individual stands out to explain or give a new lead or to reinforce the aims and objectives for which the crowd has assembled. Shakespeare has shown how there is a change from mob behaviour to audience behaviour, and from audience behaviour to mob behaviour, when people collected to witness the corpse of Julius Ceasar and hear the speeches of Brutus and Antony. Reference may also be made to the familiar fact that the police authorities will be quite alert and post a number of policemen as a precaution when a large number of individuals congregate to hear a lecture or to see a procession.

Properties of mobs

Lebon (7), Martin (8), McDougall (9) and Freud (10) have described the various characteristics of the behaviour of the active crowds or mobs.

1. MENTAL HOMOGENEITY

The members of a mob tend to show a similarity in feelings, thought and action irrespective of the variation in education, occupation or intelligence. All the members are attending to and reacting to some common object in a common way. This uniformity of behaviour of people of varying degrees of intelligence and education led Lebon to postulate a group mind. Lebon considered that the individual in the crowd loses his " personality " and acts like an " automaton ". It is not necessary for us to show that he was misled into positing the group mind, but it is true that his description of the various individuals composing the group is valid ; whether the mob consists of labourers or of college students, there is this uniformity of behaviour among all members in that collectivity.

2. EMOTIONALITY

A second feature of action crowds is the strong emotionality. Lebon wrote, " he possesses the spontaneity, the violence, the ferocity and also the enthusiasm and heroism of primitive beings " (7.36). The heightened emotionality is a characteristic feature of mob behaviour. Intense anger, fear, joy and such other emotions can be observed in the mob behaviour. It is this intense emotionality that is responsible for the mob violence.

3. IRRATIONALITY

The members of a mob are fickle, credulous, intolerant and unreasoning. They are moved by any type of reasoning that suits their heightened emotions. The members of a mob will not pause to think and consider the pros and cons and weigh the evidence. As a matter of fact these two, heightened emotionality and lowered reasoning, go together. This is by no means a feature peculiar to mob behaviour. The individual who is over-powered by anger, or fear, or sense of shame, or joy, behaves in an irrational way even when he is alone. Most of the murders are committed by individuals when they are moved by very strong impulses which heighten their emotionality and lower their ability to reason. Violence, whether it be that of an individual, or of a collection of individuals, has the same characteristics of heightened emotionality and lowered reasoning. Even highly disciplined men like army officers commit murder or suicide when they are in the grip of intense emotions. So we need not look upon irrationality as something unique to the mob situation. Only it becomes striking because such vast numbers behave in an irrational way at a single moment.

4. DIMINISHED SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Yet another feature of mob behaviour is the diminished sense of responsibility. The individuals behave in a most irresponsible manner. For example, it is one of the frequent occurrences in recent years in Calcutta that infuriated mobs burn trams, whether the infuriated mob is composed of unemployed people, or the labourers in a factory, or the students of a college, they behave in an irresponsible way, burning valuable property which belongs to the state. We

27

find that the ordinary normal social controls which inhibit violence and destruction do not operate when the individuals in the mob are in the grip of a strong common emotion.

5. SENSE OF POWER

Associated with a sense of irresponsibility is the sense of omnipotence in the members of a mob. They feel that they are capable of doing anything and that no power on earth can stop them. An aggressive mob will attack the armed policemen and even the van which carries armed policemen. It is only when the policemen start shooting under orders from the magistrate that the members of the crowd become frightened and run away. A mob of students, for example, feel that they can do anything to achieve their goals.

6. SENSE OF ANONYMITY

These various characteristics of the behaviour of the individuals in a mob are due to the sense of anonymity. Each man feels that it is the group as a whole that is responsible for the violent deeds and so nobody feels responsible for his violent actions. Each man feels secure that he will not be detected and punished because there are so many people doing the same act. The people in a crowd do not know each other. That is why they feel perfectly confident and behave in the way in which the other members of the crowd behave.

The mechanisms of mob behaviour

A variety of mechanisms have been proposed to explain mob behaviour and the mental and behavioural homogeneity in the mobs. Sighele (1901) explained the homogeneity in thought, feeling and action as being due to " suggestion ". Tarde (1903) explained the behavioural homogeneity in terms of " imitation ". Finally McDougall (1920) explained the homogeneity in terms of " primitive passive sympathy ". Thus we find that all the three mechanisms of interaction, suggestion, imitation and sympathy have been made use of by several thinkers to explain mob behaviour. F. H. Allport (1924) made use of the concept of " social facilitation " to

explain behavioural homogeneity. He asserted that the response is released and augmented by the sight of other people performing the same act. Thus social facilitation explains both the fact of homogeneity in behaviour as well as the great intensity of feeling and action. Miller and Dollard (11) as well as Blumer (12) explained mob behaviour in terms of "circular reaction." We find that this concept of circular reaction is quite similar to McDougall's concept of primitive passive sympathy and Allport's concept of social facilitation. Circular reaction is a type of inter-stimulation by which the response of one individual reproduces the stimulation that has come from the other individual and is reflected back and reinforces the stimulation. However, it must be recognized, that none of these attempts can be called "explanations". Scientific statements are explained when they are deduced from general principles.

As a matter of fact mob behaviour is due to the operation of a number of factors, some of which depend upon the pre-dispositions of the individuals, and some of which depend upon the characteristics of the situation in which the collectivity finds itself. The individuals who are members of a violent mob just do not become violent because they are members of the collectivity. On the other hand, they have all collected together because they have a certain feeling, a certain sense of resentment, regarding the social events. So there is a time process. People have been thinking and feeling about a certain event. Probably rumours have been spread about a certain event which has made them indignant about the event. It is possible that newspapers have had articles as well as editorials about those incidents. So, even as individuals in their homes, they must have been thinking and feeling about the situation. It is also possible that when they met their friends they might have discussed those problems. It is such people who may gather together at a protest meeting and the audience of a protest meeting may be converted into an aggressive mob. Over and above such feelings of frustration which are common to all the members of the group, there will also be the influence of the internal tensions peculiar to each individual. Situations in the house, or in the office, or factory, may have brought certain internal tensions and pent-up aggres-

siveness. These may gain expression when there is social perception of other people feeling in the same way. Bird (13) draws our attention to the geography of crowd. When we observe a crowd we will find that it is very compact in the centre and quite thin at the periphery. So there is movement of individuals from the periphery to the centre and from the centre to the periphery. Those individuals who are highly agitated and who are ready to act, move to the centre while those who are not so interested may move away from the centre to the periphery or even may move out of the group altogether. There will be always a number of onlookers at the periphery. These people are mildly interested in the problem or are probably only watching the behaviour of the crowd. On the other hand, the people who are in the thick of it, are the people who have identified themselves with the problem, and who feel that some drastic action is necessary to alter the events. It is possible that these people are moved strongly by the particular incident because as individuals they are personally feeling hurt. The unemployed man, the man who has not found a suitable job, the man who feels oppressed by the official hierarchy, or by the social conditions as a whole, the members of minority communities who have their own resentments, all such individuals may gather together, now that an opportunity is available to express their resentment. Yet another factor which helps us to understand crowd behaviour is the cultural factor. As we have seen above prejudices in a group are culturally conditioned. The American lynchings of the Negroes in the Southern States, the Jew-baiting in some of the European states, the Hindu-Muslim rioting in India are all culturally conditioned phenomena.

It is because mob behaviour is conditioned by so many factors past as well as present, social as well as individual, that it is highly emotional. Why is it that individuals become so violent when they are members of an active crowd? As we have seen above Lebon thought that the crowd has a super-personality. There is the formation of collective mind which accounts for the homogeneity of the behaviour (7.26). Lebon, and later Jung, explained the unity of crowd by reference to an unconscious racial mind or the collective unconscious. It is assumed that the indi-

vidual possesses the potentiality for mob behaviour. Such impulses however are controlled by social training and social conditions. But when the individuals become members of a mob these inhibitions are removed and unconscious impulses to attack, destroy, or kill those who annoy or those who obstruct will come into operation. Thus, in the mob situation, the socialization will become ineffective, and the individual is moved by the unconscious impulses. As McDougall wrote : "....the individual feels himself enveloped and over-shadowed and carried away by forces which he is powerless to control ; he therefore does not feel called upon to maintain the attitude of self-criticism and self-restraint which under ordinary circumstances are habitual to him, his more refined ideals of behaviour fail to assert themselves over the overwhelming forces that envelop him" (9.40). On the other hand Miller and Dollard (11) say, that though the responses evoked by mob excitement are ready-made, they are not necessarily unconscious. It must also be remembered that irrational and emotional behaviour is not always the characteristic of a collectivity. Then what are the conditions under which a group of ordinary, sensible, well-behaved citizens, become a violent, irrational, and dangerous group ? As we have seen above no collection of individuals is formed unless there are certain predispositions which have made the individuals feel a strong resentment against some event affecting the society. We have further seen that cultural conditions are also operating ; the prejudices, traditional to the group, will also be operating. Thirdly, the social facilitation, as well as circular reaction, and what Allport calls the " impression of university ", all these operate to reinforce in the crowd situation, thoughts and feelings and the actions. Allport has used the concept of " impression of universality " to explain the tendency for individuals to adopt the morality of the mob ; because everybody is shouting or beating or destroying, these acts of shouting, beating, and destroying, become right. We may now use the concept of social norm to understand the behaviour of the mob. There is a temporary social norm, where the group as a whole, not only approves, but even exhorts, and enjoins, the individuals to commit the crime. These actions are looked upon as not criminal actions, but as actions which are justified by the

situation. Just as in the war, killing the enemy is a righteous act, similarly in the mob situation, destroying property, or killing individuals, are not looked upon as criminal acts but as acts which express the indignation of the group and acts which are justified by the situation. It may also be added that in a mob situation there is always a feeling among the individuals that the ordinary processes of law and justice are not strong enough to rectify the wrong, and so the individuals who are members of a lynching group, or the members in the rioting group, feel called upon to take the law into their own hands to see that justice is done. In the Hindu-Muslim rioting, before the rioting, during the rioting, as well as after the rioting, the Hindus as well as the Muslims felt that killing the members of the other community, and destroying the property of the members of the other community was the right thing to do. Thus, the social norm is in operation and that is why there is reinforcement and justification for the acts which are criminal.

Such behaviour, however, is not peculiar to the mobs. Even governments, fully supported by the people, may indulge in criminal acts as in the discrimination and torture of the Jews by Hitler's Germany or of coloured people by the South African Government in 1960. Under such circumstances there is a conflict between two social norms. There is the enduring social norm which is against persecution of people, killing of the human beings, and destruction of property. But there is also another social norm, which is temporary. But this temporary social norm is more in line with impulsive behaviour. Consequently, when this is approved temporarily in the situation in which the individual is functioning at the given time, then the other social norm which requires inhibition of impulses will be abandoned in favour of the social norm which encourages the expression of the impulses. Thus, we find this paradoxical situation, not only in mob behaviour, but also in mass movements which encourage the persecution of other individuals, as well as in war, where the society as a whole legalises the criminal action against the enemies.

Varying thresholds for mob involvement

As noted already the mob consists of different individuals,

with varying predispositions, and varying degrees of participation in the mob activity. The more aggressive and the more frustrated individuals will be in the core of the crowd ; the onlookers will be at the periphery, while many others would dissociate themselves altogether from the crowd actions. The few who start action will enable the others to indulge in similar acts. Lippitt and his associates (14) in their laboratory studies of behavioural contagion have shown that the impulsive children first acted against some restraint and that these triggered other children into action. When one member does the socially disapproved act the inhibitions in the others tend to disappear. So they will also violate. In another experiment they set two children a dull mechanical task and told them to work on it till the experimentor returned. One of the two children was a collaborator. He did not take advantage of the experimentor's absence in the control groups, whereas in the experimental groups he indulged in various activities like yawning, stretching, playing at other games and so on. It was found that when the collaborator misbehaved and gave up the task, the naive subjects also tended to give up the task, whereas in the control groups the naive subjects were well behaved. The authors explained that the misbehaving collaborator weakens the restraining forces of the other children. Social restraint will operate only when all the members of the group accept the social restraint and implement it in their behaviour. But when a few with prestige disregard the social restraints, the others will also disregard them because disregarding the social restraint now becomes the social norm. Lippitt and his collaborators also found that the influence of the misbehaving collaborator was greater when it was unclear which particular action was forbidden. In an unclear situation the behaviour of the other persons gives it a structure.

Brown (6.846) classifies varying thresholds for participation in mob activity. There are the *goondas*, the lawless individuals, whose brutal behaviour in the mob is not discontinuous with their ordinary behaviour. When there is a mob situation they rush in and take full advantage of the confusion that is prevailing and start running and looting. In several cases of Hindu-Muslim rioting the police have been able to locate and arrest a number of people

with criminal records. This is the reason why Gandhi was insisting upon non-violent mass action, and when he found signs of the least degree of lawlessness, he would immediately suspend the *satyagraha*. He asserted that when there is violent action *satyagraha* became *duragraha*. This is how Gandhi ensured that the mass movements he launched where free from mob lawlessness. One or two individuals in a group who are impulsive and who are deficient in habitual restraining forces will be enough to start destruction of property and harming the individuals. Consequently Brown speaks of the significance of a few individuals who may be highly suggestible in the crowd. These may readily succumb to the hypnotic powers of the father-surrogate, as Freud pointed out. For such individuals the leader of the collectivity might displace their conscience, and because the leader is exhorting them to indulge in criminal acts, they will readily come under his influence. Social inhibitions, which otherwise would operate, will now cease to act. The third category of individuals whom Brown calls the " cautious " are the individuals who are strongly predisposed to criminal action but who are normally restrained by the fear of punishment. Such individuals will now freely join in the mob action because they are sure that anonymity will give them immunity from the law. As soon as the lawless elements begin to act these ' cautious ' people will throw their inhibitions to the winds and join the mob action. Brown next speaks of the ' yielders '. These are the people who are influenced by the " impression of universality " and become involved in the mob action as they feel that whatever the whole group is doing is right. Then there are the " sportive " individuals who do not actively participate in the mob action but who encourage and approve of the action of the mob. During the days of *satyagraha,* while hundreds and thousands were involved in direct action millions approved this direct action. This is what gave strength to the people who were involved in direct action. Similarly in the lynching of the Negroes in some of the southern states of America, while actually the lowest class of whites were harming the victims, the middleclass, and upperclass, encouraged these acts and approved them. Finally Brown speaks of the " resistants ", the small group of individuals who do not

yield to, or support, the mob action, and who condemn violence. Thus, we find that we should not generalise and say that in a violent mob, all the individuals are having the same kind of, or the same degree of, participation in violence.

Kinds of mobs

Blumer (12.178—85) has given a classification of crowds which includes mob behaviour as well as audience behaviour. He speaks of the " casual crowd " which is a short-lived, loosely organized collectivity that may be motivated by the attraction of the moment. A group of people may collect together when there is an accident or when somebody is behaving in a peculiar way. Secondly, there is the " conventionalised crowd " the activities of which are directed by conventional rules or expectations like, for example, the collection of people in a religious festival or the spectators at a football match or a cricket match. Thirdly there is the " action crowd " which is an aggressive crowd and which acts towards a definite goal. Mobs are action crowds. Finally, there is the " expressive crowd " which has no clear, defined goal. It is a group of people that collect together to celebrate an event.

1. AGGRESSIVE MOBS

We have already seen the way in which the action crowd that is aggressive behaves. According to Dollard (15) aggressive behaviour is that which has the injury of some person as its goal. The aggressive mob attacks people and destroys property. The Hindu-Muslim rioting or rioting in the villages involving followers of two factions, are illustrations of the aggressive mobs. In rioting, two mobs are involved in aggressive action against each other. There is violence on both sides. A second kind of rioting is where the mob is violent in behaviour towards the police whose duty it is to keep law and order. A big mob may overwhelm or threaten a small group of policemen. Unfortunately in India we have had a number of these situations in the last few years since independence. Such situations have led to police lathi charge and firing on the unarmed mobs. It is very difficult to say who is in the wrong.

The mob may threaten, or the police, who feel threatened, may retaliate by shooting the unarmed people. It is however, clear that both the people as well as the police have to change their behaviour. People who are upset because of certain social injustice should behave in a restrained, non-violent manner without indulging in throwing stones, attacking policemen and destroying property. On the other hand, policemen as well as the magistrates, should also realise that the angry mob consists of ordinary, normally well-behaved citizens who have some grievance. They should not provoke or threaten the people that they will beat them or shoot them. In fact it would be wise for the policemen to tackle the crowds without firearms so that neither party feels threatened and gives way, either to excessive anger, or excessive fear, both of which are involved in the shooting down of the unarmed crowds. The second illustration of the aggressive mob is lynching. A lynching mob illegally attacks one person or a small group of persons and is not satisfied until it injures them or takes their lives. Gandhi was exposed to a lynching mob when he arrived at Durban in 1896 when an angry white South African mob wanted to injure him and kill him. Similarly the white people in the southern states of U.S. sometimes take the law into their own hands and try to kill a Negro who is suspected of having committed some crime.

2. ESCAPE MOBS — PANIC

While the aggressive mobs, as well as the acquisitive mobs to be described below, are in general centripetal in tendency, the escape mobs are centrifugal. Panic is escape or avoidance behaviour. People run away from the place of danger in different directions. Panic is highly emotional and also highly irrational. People congregate in one place for recreation or for some other purpose. Thus there is a large collection of human beings to begin with. The crowd instantly perceives a crisis, an unanticipated danger situation. It is under these conditions that the panic behaviour starts. For example, the people who are in a picture house suddenly perceive that the theatre is on fire. This perception gives a shock to each individual. There is suspended activity. Secondly there is a sense of panic, a state of terror. This terror increases with the realisation of the hopeless-

ness of the situation. In the olden days picture houses had very few exits. It is as a result of terrible disasters that the law today prescribes that a picture house or a theatre must have a certain stipulated number of exits so that this sense of panic, and the loss of life consequent on maladjusted behaviour resulting from this shock and sense of panic, are eliminated or at least reduced. The individual becomes irrational when he has a sense of panic. He is unable to think clearly. Consequently the resulting behaviour is a maladjusted behaviour. Everybody rushes and it is possible that many people get hurt not so much because of the fire itself as because of the mad rush. In this class of panic behaviour we find that the danger is an unanticipated one ; so there is no prepared set of reactions. There may also be panic in an organized collectivity like the army for instance. The members of the army have been prepared for danger. Still occasions arise when there is panic. In an organized collectivity like the army the panic is due to the loss of confidence in the leader. History speaks of the way in which the huge and well-equipped Indian army was overcome by panic and was defeated by a small army led by Alexander. Similarly history has recorded the way in which a small army which was flying in panic was given courage by the Rani of Jhansi and was able to fight to death the British army in a battle in the Indian Revolution of 1857. The leader gives the whole crowd a feeling of solidarity and invincible power. If the collectivity loses this confidence in the leader then panic arises (see Chapter XXII).

3. ACQUISITIVE MOBS

The acquisitive mobs are centripetal in action. They converge on the object. The hunger riots, the food hoarding stampede, the bank run, are all illustrations of the acquisitive mobs. It is possible that there is also some panic behaviour behind this. In the war days and also in post-war days there was a big shortage of food as well as clothing. This threat of shortage led to food hoarding stampedes. People began to rush to the shops and purchase as much of food and clothing as possible. This behaviour led to an actual shortage because those with money and those with fear purchased and hoarded much more than they needed.

This is the reason why the government had to introduce rationing and controls. The 1959 policy of state trading in grains is also due to the threat of shortage. Similarly during the 1930s when people suspected that the Quilon Bank was going to collapse everybody rushed to withdraw their bank deposits. Even though the bank assured them that it had enough funds people did not believe. Their sense of fear was so intense that they rushed to the bank to withdraw their money. No bank can succeed if all the depositors desire to withdraw at one time their monies. As it turned out later, Quilon Bank was quite sound and was able to return more than 14 annas in the rupee. The government have now asked the Reserve Bank to take steps to see that the banking business is organized in such a way that people never lose confidence. There may also be a political stampede, for example, at the election time. In every party, particularly in the ruling Congress Party, there are many people who apply for nomination and there is a regular stampede ; when 300 candidates have to be set up three thousand people will apply and each man feels that he is the best candidate. After the party nominations there is a great deal of frustrated behaviour. The people whose applications have been rejected, and they are in large numbers, start all kinds of allegations against the authorities of the parties. All these kinds of behaviour are based upon the desire to acquire food or money or position and so on.

4. THE EXPRESSIVE MOBS

In a general way it may be stated that the mob behaviour which cannot be fitted into any one of the above three categories namely the aggressive, the escape and the acquisitive, will be put under this last classification. Generally it may be stated that the behaviour of the expressive mob is consummatory. The holiday crowds, the celebration crowds are all illustrations of the expressive mobs. It is a behaviour that provides a release from the routine of ordinary life. Crowds of people, thousands and even lakhs will rush to see the palace illuminations at Dasara time in Mysore. Similarly the religious festivals also attract thousands and lakhs of people. Special arrangements have to be made by the State Departments to see that these crowds have facili-

ties. The national celebrations on the Republic Day also attract vast crowds. Similarly we see, particularly in India, tens of thousands of people assembling to see great leaders of India as well as from other countries, when they move from the airport to their place of residence. We have also got the holiday crowds. It is a familiar sight in big cities like Madras or Bombay to see thousands and thousands of people going to the beach on Saturdays and Sundays and other holidays. This is a new phase in Indian society. In the olden days we did not have holiday crowds. It is only in the recent years, particularly with industrialisation, we find that the holiday crowds are increasing. When people work day after day, during the week, they relax and either go to the entertainments in theatres, or go to the parks, or the sea-shore, and such other places for relaxation and rest. Yet another variety of the expressive mob may be observed in the sports stadiums. In the recent years huge stadiums are being built. Thousands of people go to watch the football match or the cricket match. This of course is nothing new. We have in the villages all kinds of sports and games which attract thousands of people. In all these cases we find that large numbers of people assemble in one place and express freely and feel relaxed. These congregations are quite active unlike the audience in a theatre.

The audience

The audience is also a polarised crowd which assembles in one place. We may differentiate between the " casual audience " and the " scheduled audience ". A number of people may accidentally congregate and become polarised. For example, when there is a street quarrel a number of people may assemble to watch it. Similarly, a number of people may assemble to watch men who are working ; for example, when the electricity people are fixing a pole the passersby will gather together and watch them at work. It is a well-known fact that in a city we can collect a number of people by a practical joke like one or two persons bending down and trying to search as though they lost a coin or something. The passersby will also start behaving in the same way and probably a little later they may realise that

they are being fooled and proceed to their own work. Another illustration of casual audience is the familiar gathering of children in the villages when a person arrives on a motor-cycle or in a motor-car.

On the other hand the scheduled audience is less spontaneous and more closely regulated with respect to time and place. The crowd which assembles in a picture house, or in a lecture hall or in the *maidan*, to hear an orator, are all examples of the scheduled audience. It is an " institutionalised " crowd. The behaviour is conventionalised. They know what to applaud and when to applaud. It is not spontaneous. We may here note a big difference between the Indian audience and the Western audience in a music hall. The Indian reaction in a music hall is more spontaneous. When the musician is excelling himself, in the middle of the programme the whole audience goes into raptures and claps and may even shout with joy. On the other hand the Western audience in the music concert is very quiet. The applause comes only after the song is over and then the crowd becomes highly expressive. They may go on clapping for minutes together before they settle down quietly. Thus we find here that behaviour of the audience is a conventionalised, institutionalised behaviour which depends upon the way in which people have been brought up. Here is cultural influence.

In the audience situation several psychological processes are involved in the interaction of people. In a broad way we can distinguish between two kinds of interactions. There is interaction between audience and the actor or the speaker or the performer ; secondly there is the interaction among the members of the audience themselves.

The scheduled audience comes together to one place at a given time because of the methods used to attract the people. Here again we find that the techniques adopted to attract the crowd will depend upon the kind of audience, its cultural background, the purpose of the meeting and so on. The secretary of a college association when he fixes up a meeting will adopt a number of techniques to gather the crowd. First of all he may try to get a very distinguished speaker so that the reputation of the speaker will attract the crowd. Then he will put up notices in different places in the college campus. He may also make

use of coloured chalk to write the announcement on black-boards. He may also get the notices printed and distribute them. He may put an insertion about the event in the news columns of the local papers. The newspaper people are also very ready to cooperate with the various organizations which arrange the meetings. Every newspaper will have the daily engagement columns in which they give publicity to the engagements of the day in the city. Over and above these things the secretary may also employ another technique. He may get a loudspeaker set and play film records which attract the attention of people. He may make announcements through the loudspeakers on and off reminding the people on the campus that the meeting is to start. The owners of the picture houses make other kinds of attempts to get the audience. They may use techniques of propaganda like getting a cycle squad to go round the city displaying the posters. They may use the old techniques of the man with a drum announcing the event like in the village with a modification that instead of the drum there is a band set in a horse-drawn cart or a motor-van which goes round playing music, displaying posters and also distributing the leaflets. The picture house man also employs the technique of the preview to the press and he gets reviews of the picture published in the local press. Now the aim of all these techniques is not only to stir up interest in individuals about the lecture, or about the picture, or play, but also to set people to speak about it so that there is active conversation among the people about the event.

Kimball Young (3.400) classifies audience into the information seeking, the conversional, and the recreation seeking audiences. We can now briefly describe the characteristics of each of these three kinds of audiences.

1. THE INFORMATION SEEKING AUDIENCE

A large information seeking audience can be built up by inviting a well-known scientist or philosopher or statesman or political leader to deliver the address. Such lectures will be arranged in a quiet lecture hall. The whole atmosphere will be sober. The main aim of the audience is to get facts and interpretations. The aim of the lecture is neither to entertain the audience nor to enthuse them and make them act. The aim is merely to make them think and understand

the problems. Consequently the ideas and the attitudes presented do not influence the present conduct. It may of course influence the future conduct. This is the reason why political leaders who are invited by student organizations to speak in a college or a university will come and present the aims and ideals of their party. They give an objective analysis of the situation and speak of the attempts the party is making to solve such problems. There is a big difference between the speech of the political leader in a college and his speech in the Town Hall or in the *maidan*. There, his aim is to convert people, to influence them but in the college lecture hall his aim is merely to place the facts of the situation and the facts of the programme so that people will understand what the party stands for.

The speaker may speak freely from notes or he may read from a manuscript. Each method has got its own advantages and disadvantages. When a person speaks freely he is able to establish rapport with the audience more easily. But it is possible that he may dilate and emphasise certain aspects to the detriment of other aspects. In order to help the audience to follow the lecture that is read, the usual practice is to print the lecture in advance and distribute it to the members of the audience. Even if a man does not follow he has the sense of security that he has the printed material in his hand and he can go through it once again later. Generally the tendency of the audience will be to hear what is read and at the same time read the address also.

It has been found that long and involved sentences induce fatigue and loss of interest. On the other hand short and clear sentences sustain attention and help understanding. The quality of the voice, the rhythm of speaking, the shifts in emphasis are all very important whether it is free speaking or reading from a manuscript. It has also been found that a combination of the visual and auditory material is superior to either the visual presentation alone or the auditory presentation alone. Visual aids like charts and tables enable the people to understand clearly. That is why film strips and slides are used, particularly when statistical material is presented.

Another unique feature of the information seeking audience is their desire to ask questions at the end of the speech.

Such questions and an open discussion will not only enable people to understand and clear their doubts but it will also help to fix the facts in the mind. Questions and answers and open discussion should be given a fourth or at least a fifth of the time allotted.

2. THE CONVERSIONAL AUDIENCE

It involves emotional appeals like the recreational audience. Hence the very setting of such lectures will be quite different. We may take illustrations from religious meetings and political movement meetings. These meetings will generally be held in an open space so that there is close shoulder to shoulder contact among the vast crowds who assemble. Another technique that may be adopted to bring about a crowd polarisation is to make the whole group sing. Group singing breaks down the individual isolation, removes differences in social status and helps to build up common emotions and feelings. The main aim of the conversional meetings is to wipe out the sense of intellectual divergence among the audience and to make each man feel that he is just like any other person in the crowd. The aim of the speaker is to convert the audience into his way of thinking and finally to lead the audience to action. This is the big difference between the conversional audience and the information seeking audience. When political leaders like Gandhi and Nehru speak, their aim is to convert the people from being indifferent to the national good to becoming active nationalists or followers of the Congress Party. Their aim is not only to enlist the support of the people for their own movement but also to enlist workers. When Gandhi spoke during the 1920s and 1930s he was able to get in villages, towns as well as cities thousands of men and women who sacrificed their all in order to become full time national workers. Similarly in the religious movement there is an attempt to convert people to think in a different way, and to act in a different way. At the end of the last century when Swami Vivekananda spoke in the cities and towns of India he was able to convert tens of thousands of people to adopt the Vedantic view and the Vedantic way of life. Similarly Annie Besant led the Theosophical movement in the first third of this century and converted tens of thousands of men and women to respect and read ancient Indian

28

works like the *Gita* and the *Upanishads*. At the present moment we have great speakers like Vinoba Bhave and Jaya Prakash Narayan who are converting people to adopt the *sarvodaya* ideal and *sarvodaya* way of life. Similarly we have Chinmayananda who seeks to convert thousands of people at each meeting to accept the Vedantic way of life. One of the essential features of this conversional meeting is that discussions are not allowed at the end of the meeting as it will break the emotional bond which the speaker has tried to build up in the course of his lecture. Generally there may not be any president. The speaker as well as the people do not want another person to intervene between them. Various kinds of techniques are used in the conversional meetings. Persuasion and suggestion are very freely used. Certain values and certain sentiments are impressed upon the audience. Consequently the arguments will be apparently logical but basically emotional. There will be constant appeals to authority or patriotism or prejudice. Anecdotes will be used as proof and analogies and metaphors will be used as evidence. High sounding words will influence the people to believe that the message is a profound one. Prestige bearing names or principles or books will be freely made use of because from the childhood the members of the audience have been brought up to revere such people, principles and books. There will be constant appeal to our prejudice regarding class, caste, race and religion. Hitler was a master in dealing with conversional audience. Within a few years he was able to make the entire German nation feel that they were the chosen people who could rule the whole world. He made them hate the Jews and the other non-aryan races as well as the French and the British people.

Often times the audience may be stimulated to direct action by the manipulators of the crowd. The person who is speaking to a vast crowd about food shortage may be able to make the whole crowd become an aggressive mob which attacks the grain shops and the government grain storage depots. The audience which assembles to hear about the programme of *dravida khazagam* may be converted into an aggressive mob which attacks the temples and the Brahmins. The technique adopted is to turn the passive audience into an active crowd by shifting the attention from

general to the particular.   There will be vivid and repeated appeals to deep prejudices with respect to class, caste, religion, nationality and so on.   All such appeals will touch off the elemental drives for survival and protection of status. They become very strong when they are reinforced by the members of the audience themselves. Shakespeare has shown the techniques of converting the passive audience into an action crowd in the celebrated passages of ' Julius Ceasar '. Hitler made use of lights and flags and bands and marchings in order to make the people full of emotion and enthusiasm. Marching or procession is a very important technique to convert people.   The political leaders as well as the labour leaders make use of this technique.   People will be asked to gather in different parts of the city and march so that they finally meet in a huge open space and hear the denouncements of the state or the party whose actions are being questioned.

As we have shown, these techniques are very old techniques.   They have been used in the ancient times.   Then what is the difference between the modern conversional meetings and movements and the ancient and the medieval ? The essential social psychological techniques are the same. The difference is in the extensive use of the modern technological developments in mass-media and transportation. Whether it is Hitler or Jinnah or the congress party or the communist party they make use of newspapers, pamphlets, loudspeakers and other mass-media to gather people and make them protest.

3. THE RECREATIONAL AUDIENCE

The snake charmer in the market place, the tribal acrobats, the circus man, the cinema man, the music hall man, all these people use similar techniques to gather people and to entertain them.   The snake charmer and his associate take up a suitable place near the market and start beating the drums.   This will attract in a few minutes a fairly sizeable crowd.   Later on the drum as well as the crowd will attract more crowds and then the show starts.   The secretaries of the college associations also try to make use of these techniques when they want to build up an audience for a lecture which provides only information.   They put up loudspeakers and film records to attract the

students in the campus.   On occasions the secretaries may also make use of drama or music or variety shows along with the lecture in order to build up a sizeable audience. But such techniques invariably fail because the audience is essentially an entertainment seeking audience and not an information seeking audience.   If the lecture is to be before the entertainment the audience becomes restless and if the lecture is to be after the entertainment there will be a vacant hall.   It is better to draw a distinction between the entertainment seeking audience and the information seeking audience and arrange different meetings for the different purposes.   Fantastic posters will be put up glorifying the ability of the performers in order to attract a large house.   There will be decorations and band at the theatre or the circus place.   The dramatic troupe or the musician will have to build up rapport with the audience so that the audience appreciates and enjoys the music or the programme.   When there is total polarisation in music or drama then the members of the audience will be totally absorbed and there will not be awareness of the other members of the audience.   The people will be almost in a state of hypnosis.

On the other hand if there is a failure to build up rapport, the audience may now become restive and it may even become an action crowd.   They may start denouncing the man who has arranged the programme and they may become aggressive.

Other mass-phenomena

1. RUMOURS AND MASS HYSTERIA

Rumour is a story about some real or fictitious person or event which is communicated from person to person and which changes and grows as it spreads.   Rumours start from simple facts or suppositions and as they spread become elaborated into stories of great emotional significance. Gossip, where one person speaks to another about certain incidents, is one of the chief ways in which rumours spread in rural as well as urban areas.   In the urban areas over and above the word of mouth, communications may also take place by letter or telephone message or even telegrams.   Sometimes the rumour stories are put in the news-

papers or they may be even printed in pamphlets; then they become mass phenomena of very great magnitude. In every country of the world there are some newspapers which specialise in making current unverified stories which try to bring down the reputation of very important persons or institutions. This is what is called ' Yellow Journalism '.

Bartlett (16.69) performed a series of experiments which demonstrated the way in which the story gets transformed as it is communicated from person to person. A person may be given a simple drawing and may be asked to look at it for a short time. Then he may be asked to reproduce it and show it to the next person who also views it for a short time, reproduces it and shows it to the next person and so on. When a chain is set up like this with a design or with a story we find that there are progressive changes in the reproduced material. The picture becomes more and more meaningful as it passes on from person to person. It has also been found that the peculiar elements of the picture tend to disappear or tend to be exaggerated, so that ultimately the last version will be quite unlike the original and it may become relatively more stable than the original. Similarly the story will tend to be more rational. There may be simplifications and certain events tend to be more dominant. Allport and Postman (17) confirmed this work of Bartlett. They assert that there are " tendencies to level, to sharpen and to assimilate to personal and cultural contexts ".

So much as regards the form in which and the manner in which changes take place in the material that is communicated from person to person. We may now consider some of the characteristics regarding the social situation and the contents of the story that is transmitted.

It has been found that rumours spread very rapidly in times of crisis. When there is a threat of war many rumours break out. Sometimes these rumours may be deliberately created; the motive is to create a crisis and social unrest. According to Allport and Postman rumour has two characteristics, namely its importance and its ambiguity. Rumours are not spread about trivial matters. Such stories about trivial matters will not be communicated. A person just listens and is indifferent to it. On the other hand if it concerns some events or deeds of important individuals

or important groups then there is a great amount of ego-involvement. It arouses anxiety in the individual and so the individual communicates it to the other individuals whom he meets. During war time those who are in favour of the war will spread one kind of rumour and those who are against the war will spread another kind of rumour. Today, in India, in every state, we find stories about corruption. People who are placed in high positions whether in the ministry or in the administration or those who are party bosses are alleged to be making a good deal of dishonest money. These stories are current because they deal with people who are in the limelight, in important positions. There is also an element of jealousy. The party boss or the minister who was a poor man or a man of modest means or who may have been even an unemployed man a few years back is today in a prosperous condition. This leads to the allegation of dishonest means of increasing one's wealth. Gandhi was aware of this possibility and that is why in his last days he was asking the ministers not only to take a lower salary but also to lead a very simple, frugal and austere life. Social perception is considerably affected owing to such matters by predispositions and anxieties. A second important characteristic of the rumour is that the whole situation is vague and ambiguous. Rumours will not spread if people have factual information in which they have full confidence. This is one of the reasons why newspaper editors must not publish rumours. They should publish only facts which they have verified and if there are differences of opinion they should publish versions from both the sides so that all the facts as well as the differences in opinion based on such facts are available to the people so that they can arrive at their own conclusions. Rumours feed on ignorance and paucity of information. This becomes more acute when people are troubled by situations of crisis and social unrest. They tend inadvertently to fill the gaps in their knowledge with fancied explanations. Particularly the social conditions which create the mass society, together with its instability, lead to a widespread circulation of rumour. One of the paradoxical situations of the modern age is that rumours exist inspite of the existence of the mass-media of communications like the newspapers. Some times it is even true to say that newspapers themselves,

not all, spread rumours by writing stories which have not been confirmed.

The story itself must have some dramatic quality. It must possess an air of authenticity and it must have some relevance to the social context in which it is spread. People are always moved by the adage, " There is no smoke without fire ". So whenever a fantastic rumour is spread they believe that there must be some truth, though it may not be wholly true. It is also satisfying to their ego to participate in the spreading of such rumours. People are very happy when they find that the so-called big men are just as foolish and as weak as they themselves are. Rumour is a special kind of suggestion. People tend to accept uncritically what is asserted with an air of authority or an air of mystery. Further they tend to accept a story about another man which satisfies their own ego.

Another psychological factor which favours the spreading of rumours is the pre-conceived ideas and attitudes of people. People like stories which fit in with their prevailing dispositions and attitudes. Smith (18) conducted an investigation to study the ways in which statements are accepted. He gave a set of pro-Russian and anti-Russian statements and found that the students who are themselves pro-Russian believed in the pro-Russian statements, while those who were anti-Russian believed in the anti-Russian statements.

When two or more people join together in a conversation there is generally a bid for transient leadership. There is some kind of rivalry which stimulates each individual to do his best in the conversation and tell a better story. This partially accounts for the inclinations, on the one hand to make the story as colourful as possible, and on the other hand to suppress a few facts, which may spoil a good tale.

Reference may be made to a rumour that spread like wild fire among the students as well as the adults in a small university town sometime back. The rumour had different versions but the invarying features were that a college undergraduate boy was killed by two or three girls residing in a women's hostel. The rumour was very strong for about a week. Attempts were made by the newspaper men to find out the facts. When they rang up the police authorities, the magistrate, the hostel authorities, and the hospi-

tal authorities, it was learnt that there was no death. Such facts, which were again circulated by word of mouth, only led to a repudiation instead of their being accepted. The rumour now intensified and it was asserted that all the authorities had now conspired together to protect the honour of the girls who were murderers. Gradually it was learnt that the name of the student varied from version to version and the hostel in which he lived also varied from version to version. When the students found that no students in any hostel or in any college was missing, rumours died. But it was not before about 8 to 10 days that the rumour faded away. " There is no smoke without fire " : what then is the fire ? It was found that a boy followed two to three girls who were returning from a cinema show. When the girls came near the gate of the women's hostel they informed the hostel watchman that the boy was pursuing them. The version is that the watchman shouted and that there was a policeman passing by who joined the watchman in condemning the boy which led to the boy running away from the place and to his pursuit by two or three people on the street. It is possible that the report of this boy, that he was pursued by people and that he escaped being attacked by the women's hostel watchman, led to the various versions that he was attacked and killed and that he was killed by the girls themselves. Thus it is possible that on the basis of very slender facts, fantastic stories may create themselves as rumour passes from man to man particularly when there are very strong. motives which are operating at the given time.

Knapp (19) analysed 1000 rumours collected from all parts of United States in 1942. He found that 66% were hostility rumours, 25% were fear rumours and 2% wish rumours while the remaining 7% were unclassifiable. Rumour, thus, circulates because it serves to relieve the emotional tensions felt by the individuals. This is why many rumours spread during times of crisis and during times of war.

A news item with the headline, " Crowds fear foul play on missing boy " appeared on sixth May 1959 (20). It was reported that over 500 people demonstrated in front of the residence of a military officer on Tuesday 5th May as they were agitated regarding the.safety of a boy who was missing

since Monday 4th May evening. It was reported that two boys went to the military officer's bungalow to pluck mangoes. The members of the household chased them. One boy escaped and the other boy was caught and locked up in a room, and the police were informed. When the police arrived and the room was opened they found that the boy had escaped, presumably through a window. But the boy did not return home. Soon rumours started and the story was that the boy was beaten to death by the military officer's household and the body must have been hidden in the house or was disposed off somehow. The rumour spread like wild fire in the locality and people started collecting in front of the bungalow. The police guarded the bungalow against any possible act of public fury. High police officers tried to convince the public that the boy was not to be found anywhere in the house and that he was not harmed by the members of the household. The. D. S. P. took the mother of the missing boy and showed her the whole house. The police officers further assured the public that they were trying to find out the whereabouts of the missing boy. This story was reported on 6th morning; on 6th night the editor rang up the police and learnt that the whole story was the result of a scare and that it was fantastic and untrue, and that the missing of boys was not uncommon and this was a fabrication on the basis of a missing boy. He assured the public that the police were investigating and that prompt action would be taken at the slightest indication of foul play. On 7th May the headline was " Ulsoor incident was mob hysteria ". The paper reported that the demonstration " turned out to be the proverbial storm in the tea cup ". It was reported that the missing boy returned home late on the night of Tuesday May 5th 1959. The police officers said that it was nothing but " sheer mob hysteria ".

Hadley Cantril and his associates (23) made a study of thousands of Americans who became panic-stricken hearing a radio broadcast on the evening of October 30th 1938 which purported to describe an invasion by Martians. " Long before the broadcast had ended people all over the United States were praying, crying, fleeing frantically, to escape death from the Martians ". It was estimated that at least 6 million were frightened or disturbed. Later 135

persons were interviewed to find out why people were panic-striken. The analysis of the script broadcast showed that it was very realistic and dramatic. In the play the so-called experts from astronomical observatories and military establishments were interviewed. Even the Secretary of State for America was reported as having given his opinion. Many people rely on the radio for their news. They have very great confidence in radio broadcasts. Cantril found that some people realised that it was a play by checking the internal evidence of the broadcast. Some others who thought that the play was too fantastic to be true checked the radio programmes of the newspaper and found that it was a play. Both these groups became suspicious and were critical and checked against reality. But others became panicky and made unrealistic checks like looking out of the window ; they inferred that the invasion had not yet reached the spot or that there was a traffic jam far off. Finally there were several, whose panic was so great that they never made any attempt to check, and either stopped listening due to the fright or ran around in frenzy. "The fact that this panic was created as a result of a radio broadcast is today no mere circumstance. The importance of radio's role in current national and international affairs is too wellknown to be recounted here. By its very nature radio is the medium *par excellence* for informing all segments of a population of current happenings, for arousing in them a common sense of fear, of joy, and for exciting them to similar reactions directed toward a single objective " (21.198). We find that the personality characteristics made some people highly frightened and suggestible. They became hysterical.

. Johnson (21.208) made a field study of the mass hysteria about a " phantom anaesthetist ". On 1st September 1944 a woman reported to the police that a man opened her bedroom window and sprayed her with a sweet smelling gas which partially paralysed her legs and made her ill. This news was reported on 2nd September in the local newspaper which was read by 97% of the families. It carried a front page story with the headline " anaesthetic prowler on loose". On 5th September similar incidents which were alleged to have taken place on 31st August were reported to the police. These accounts were published on 5th September

as 3rd and 4th were holidays. Day after day the police received information of new attacks. However, a careful police search, as well as the searches by the volunteers of the town were fruitless. Climax came on 10th September when 7 cases of attack were reported. Immediately the State Police with their radio equipped squad of cars were put on operation. No culprit was found. In all the cases the symptoms were nausea, vomiting, palpitation, paralysis of the legs, dryness of mouth and throat. All these cases recovered rapidly. Four cases were examined by physicians who diagnosed each of them as a case of hysteria : What produced this mass hysteria ? The vivid and dramatic story of the hysterical attack published in the newspaper led to other people reporting similar attacks leading to exciting stories written in newspapers. It was found that all the people who succumbed to the " mental epidemic " were women, excepting one, with low educational and economic level. Cantril had also found that the women of low educational and economic level were strongly influenced by the broadcast regarding the attack on the world by the people of Mars.

2. FASHION, FAD AND CRAZE

Fashion is also an example of collective action and has much in common with crowd behaviour. " Fashion may be defined as the current or prevailing usage, mode, manner or characteristic expression, presentation or conception of those particular cultural traits which custom itself allows to change " (3.411). Custom may be looked upon as a stable and persistent phase of social behaviour. Fashion is a variation that is permissible within limits of custom. There are fashions in arts and several other areas of man's activity and life. In the olden times as well as in the modern fashions spread and change very slowly in rural areas by personal contact. In the big cities with modern rapid means of communication and transportation quick changes in fashion are brought about. Fashions are highly temporary but some times they may become permanent. For example the women of South India were using sarees which were 9 yards long till about the 1930s. Since then there was a gradual change so that today we find that women all over the country use a six yard saree or even five and a

half yards. This has now become more or less a stable feature of the women's dress. In the recent years other changes have taken place in the fashions about sarees. During the 1920s and the 1930s mill sarees were the fashion but in the 1950s there was a revival of the handloom sarees. Though the saree itself has not changed, excepting in its length, there have been innumerable changes in the designs as well as textures. These fashions are in a flux among the women of the higher castes and the higher economic groups. On the other hand the village women have not changed. They continue to wear today sarees of the same texture and design as in the last century or probably earlier. Similarly there are also changes in fashion about buildings. There are also changes in fashion about language. Reference may be made to the change in fashions with respect to ornaments. A few years back men as well as women of India were very fond of gold ornaments. In the recent years we find that men have practically given up gold ornaments and women use very simple jewellery. If a woman decks herself with a lot of jewellery today she will become an object of ridicule.

Fads are usually outlandish. They are often disapproved by the conservatives as " bad-taste ". " A craze, or rage, is a more extensive and persistent fad and is more deviant in form. Crazes are stimulating, vivid and exciting. They are really mental epidemics " (3.415). In 1958 hoola hoop was a craze in the big cities of India as well as in the world. Similarly few years ago ' rock and roll ' was a craze. During the 1930s and the 1940s the cross word puzzles were a craze. Similarly chain-letters were a craze. Bogardus (22) collected 2,702 fads from 1947—1952. He found that 57% of the list referred to women's clothes and ornaments. 16% to men's clothes and 9% to amusements and recreations. He also found that about 80% appear only for one year and that fads typically show a rapid growth ; they have a high plateau for about 2 to 3 months and then decline. Thus these fads are connected with clothing and ornaments and are short-lived. The two words ' fad ' and ' craze ' are used to refer to mass-follies. What then is the difference between fashion on the one side and the fads and crazes on the other ? In a broad way we may say that fashion is a minor variation in the custom. Further, fashion has reference to

the class structure of the society. Fashions spread from the upper to the lower classes. Fashion has a prestige value, but if it is adopted by many people then that fashion decays and a new fashion arises. On the other hand, the behaviour that is termed a fad or a craze is more deviant from the social norm. That is why fads and crazes are disapproved by the conservatives in the group as showing ' bad-taste '. They are also looked upon as follies. Further, they are somewhat epidemic in nature. They are very stimulating and exciting and a number of people adopt them with great zeal. For example, around 1954—55 there was a craze to purchase glass tanks and breed small coloured fish. Sometimes young men would even carry these fish tanks with them when they travelled. Similarly there are crazes about some film songs. When it catches the fancy of the masses the same song will be heard throughout India.

Fashions as well as fads and crazes are based on the desire for change ; the desire for something new. It is an out-growth of emotional and irrational tendencies. We do not find fashions and fads among the rural people. It is only in the more dynamic societies that we find fashions and fads. They constitute a psychological reaction to ennui. They compensate for disappointments in life. Also they are based on the desire for recognition and serve as a means to get attention. " In a world increasingly dominated by mass-society organization, with its impersonality, anonymity and mobility, fashion gives us new experience and also a chance to deviate, at least for a time, from the mass — especially in the individualisation permitted in the acceptance of new styles " (3.416). It is to the advantage of the individual to conform to society. But there is also the desire to stand out from the rest of the people. Fashion satisfies both these tendencies. " Thus fashion furnishes for the personality a nice balance between the desire for conformity, security and social solidarity, and the desire for distinction, individuality and differentiation " (3.418). The manufacturers as well as the tradesmen try to change fashions. Dress designers are appointed by big firms to deliberately modify fashion. For example the Calico Mills of Ahmedabad started the " Fashion Parade " in 1958, to advertise their new designs of textiles and appointed young women to wear these textiles in an attrac-

tive way. Tens of thousands of people in every big city of India rushed to see these fashion parades. This is quite a common technique in Europe and America.

3. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

When people are dissatisfied with the social institutions that frustrate their needs they have a desire to change the social institutions. Thus social movements could be looked upon as collective efforts to change the society. The social movements have their origin in social. instability and social unrest. Such mass movements have a crusading zeal. For example, there is the labour movement to rouse and awaken the labourers to their own rights. All over the world labour movements have been started by enlightened intellectuals who are shocked by social injustice. Particularly labour movement was very strong in England where there was rapid industrialisation. It gave rise to the British labour party which organized itself and came into power in the British Parliament. It gave rise to Karl Marx's book and the communist movement which have swept Russia after the first Great War. Women's movement is another illustration of mass movement which became very strong after the first World War ; today women are treated as equals in most of the countries of the world. In a broadway it may be said that there are four stages in a mass movement. First of all there is the stage of social unrest where people become conscious of their frustrations. This leads to the stage of popular excitement when it gains strength and popularity. There will be formalisation of the demands and finally institutions will be set up which will fight for these rights. The national movement in India went through these stages. It is because of the national movement that people throughout the country became conscious of their rights ; particularly Gandhi made it a mass movement so that people of every village became conscious of their rights. Such social movements may become aggressive like the communist movements or the revolutionary movements in India and destroy properties and also kill many human beings. In a broad way we can distinguish between the two kinds of movements. Both these are mass phenomena. The reform movement accepting the basic tenets of the larger society seeks to

bring about changes so that there is greater social justice. On the other hand, the revolutionary movements challenge the very foundations of the society and try to uproot and destroy the existing order in order to build up a new order (23). The revolutionary movements tend to become underground organizations because they are violent and also because the workers will feel that their movement will be crushed if it is known to the governments (See Chapter XXII).

In a broad way it may be stated that social movements are swayed by emotions and are motivated by a hope to build up a new society. They are not very critical. They do not question their own beliefs and actions. That is why many of these movements may fail. People will accept these movements and become active members because they have a pathetic faith that the world will change and a new social order will bring about a complete transformation of society. This is where we find that the same characteristics as in prejudices, fads and crazes, and crowd behaviour, are also manifest in social movements. But it must be stated that a man like Gandhi who started the mass movement in India for national freedom was a person who was not swayed by emotions and irrationalities. That is why he was constantly propounding the twin principles of truth and non-violence and thus was able to keep the Indian struggle for freedom as an open struggle as well as a peaceful and non-violent struggle. Further he also started constructive organizations in the country so that people could stand on their own feet and become truly independent by becoming self-dependent. By such means he was able to keep the mass movement from degenerating into crowd behaviour. In June 1959 mass movement was set up in Kerala State in India to overthrow the constitutionally formed communist government. The opposition parties as well as the people found that they were unable to dislodge the communist government through the constitutional means within the legislature. This made the opposition parties as well as the people feel frustrated and the mass movement was set up. Any mass movement is bound to degenerate into crowd behaviour and mob behaviour with its irrationalities and aggressiveness and hostility unless it is guided by the twin principles of truth and non-

violence. This was the greatest achievement in the history of human society by Gandhi. He was able to build up a mass movement which did not have the attributes of mob violence.

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LEADERSHIP

THE CHAPTERS in this section clearly show that the term " group " is used in different senses. In the wider sense of the term, the group is a collection of individuals with or without polarisation, with or without social norms, with or without a structure. In a broad way we can distinguish between three kinds of groups. There is first of all the " togetherness " situation, where two or more people are in one place and may be doing their own tasks. For example, the people who are walking in a street or the people in a bus or railway compartment they are all together spatially. But there is no polarisation, there is no cohesion. Each is thinking and feeling and doing in isolation in terms of his own goals. There is no group goal. We have also seen that experimental situations could be set up where each individual is doing the same task but without any relationship with the other people who are doing a similar task. Similarly the children who are engaged in parallel play. Even in such togetherness situation we have found that there may be an element of competition ; there may be interaction among them. At the other end we have, collective behaviour which is polarised like in the mobs, the audience and in mass movements. In all these cases all the individuals are in the grip of some task. A common feeling is moving them to action. In such collectivities leaders play a very important part in bringing about group cohesion. In between the together situation and the collectivity situation we have the group in the narrower sense of the term. It may be a small group like the committee of an organization or it may be a large group like the army or political party or an international religious body. The essential feature of this group in the narrower sense of the term is that there is group structure with status and role relationships and a hierarchic organization. There is also a group norm which pervades the work of the group as a whole. These accepted social values will permeate the thought, feeling and action of each individual and the group

as a whole. In such a group also we find that leadership plays a very important part. In this chapter we can consider briefly the various problems connected with leadership.

While describing the social behaviour of birds and animals we found that there is a dominance-submission pattern of behaviour among them. It was found that dominance is manifested in aggressive behaviour particularly with respect to food and sex. On the other hand submissive behaviour is manifested by crouching, avoidance or waiting for food. Reports of the observation of children have also shown that the elder of two children dominates the younger child. This dominance-submission behaviour is at the prehuman level and also at the child level.

Such observations among animals, children, as well as adult human beings led McDougall (1) to postulate the propensities of dominance and submission to explain this pattern of behaviour among animals and human beings. But this is really no explanation; it is only a description. The physically stronger or larger and more vigorous animal or human being will try to drive away the weaker and grab food. Similarly the cleverer will try to outwit the dull. The weaker may beg and cringe or avoid. These become habitual techniques. Further they may be also culturally fostered; for example, in caste system for thousands of years the people of the lower castes have been trained from infancy to pay deference and to show submission to the people of the higher caste. Even today in an Indian village the Harijans as well as the members of other lower castes will show submissive behaviour not only to the adults but even to the children of the higher castes. Thus dominance and submission are culturally determined in caste system and the man or the youth of the lower caste who does not yield and submit to a person of the higher caste will be punished both by the people of his own caste as well as by the people of the higher caste (27). In a similar way feudalism has also influenced culturally dominance-submission behaviour. The members of the maharaja's family or the zamindar's family are aggressive and dominant; they are trained to command and others are trained to submit to them. We find similar culturally determined dominant-submissive behaviour in religion. All the members of the religion

bow before the Jagadguru or the Dalai Lama irrespective of age, experience, wisdom, wealth, caste and other considerations. Yet another illustration is the behaviour that is culturally determined in the office as well as in the factory. The man who is in a higher position expects deference from the persons in a lower position. Even a man earning a few rupees more expects deference from a person who earns a few rupees less. There is the same kind of submissive behaviour in the family, where the husband dominates over the wife, and parents dominate over children. These are all culturally approved. Thus dominant behaviour under these conditions is learnt behaviour. However, no person is always dominant and no person is always submissive in all situations. The submissive official may be a tyrant in his house. Dominance-submission is situational. It is not personal in the sense that a person may be dominant in every conceivable situation in life. There are so many situational and cultural factors operating which determine whether a given individual behaves in a dominant or a submissive way.

Apart from this there is also the problem whether dominance is the same as leadership. Dominance implies that when a man commands others obey ; here fear plays a very important part ; a fear that may be generated either by the personal qualities of the individual or because of the cultural pattern. On the other hand, a person may exercise his leadership purely because he is accepted as a model by others. He is accepted by the group because of his qualities. His suggestions may be accepted and there may be deference to his opinion. The leadership implies acquiescence among the followers. We may take the illustration of Gandhi who was an undisputed leader of the whole country though he never had any position of authority. Actually for a number of years he was not even a formal member of the Congress Party though his word was law to the whole Congress Party and to millions. Similarly there is the leadership of an expert. Because of his achievements, because of his knowledge and ability, he may be looked upon as an expert and his opinion may be valued by millions, but he does not hold any position of dominance. He is accepted as a model. Domination is a process of control of the other members of the group. Domination is based on

fear. Hence dictatorship always involves a strong minority group which is ruthless and which builds up concentration camps, where the members of the party who are disloyal are punished. On the other hand, leadership is a process of mutual stimulation where the leader influences the group and the group influences the leader. There is flexibility in this relationship. But in the dominance-submission relationship there is inflexibility. Anderson (2) made a study of domination and integration among young children in an experimental play situation. According to Anderson dominating behaviour is the behaviour of a rigid and inflexible personality structure, which reveals internal tensions and provokes external tensions. Integrative behaviour however is cooperative leading to mutual respect between the leader and the follower. Domination tends to provoke counter domination or a revolt, whereas integrative behaviour elicits a cooperative response. So we should not confuse between domination and leadership. Domination is behaviour at the animal level and child level and it may also reappear under certain circumstances at the adult level.

Leader-follower relationship involves social interaction, face to face, as well as indirect, by means of communication. Leadership should not be looked upon as a mysterious process. The underlying processes are the same whether the leader be a Hitler, a Stalin or a Gandhi or a leader in a small town or in a small village. Essentially they function in the same way. The leader-follower situation involves communication. The leader says something or writes something. What he says is heard and accepted, what he writes is read and accepted. Further what is heard or read is transmitted to other people, and this process goes on till every member of the group learns about it and accepts it. Sprott writes, " Always some one writes or speaks and some one reads or hears. Churchill, Hitler, Napoleon or Stalin operate in this way and in no other way. If they are persistently confronted, by people who refuse to listen to what they said in their offices or bed rooms or wherever they utter their orders, or if their letters and minutes were destroyed unread, they could not lead. So far as that goes there is no mystery about leadership " (3.73).

Thus the leader-follower situation involves communica-

tion from the leader to the follower and acceptance of the leader as the figure of authority.

In most of the cases there is face-to-face relationship between the parents and children, between the husband and wife, between the master and the servant. Similarly in the school there is relationship between the teacher and the pupil, also in the office between the superintendent and the clerk or the manager and the officials or the chairman and the members of the committee. In all these cases leadership may be due to "ascribed" status or to "achieved" status. One of the significant features of the ancient and medieval societies is the importance of ascribed status. Particularly in India till very recently status was associated with caste and with heredity. The son of a raja became a raja, the son of a zamindar inherited that position, similarly the position of the patel and shanbhog were also inherited positions. A second important characteristic is the respect to the aged people. But in the modern society the stress is on "achieved" status. It is the ability and the achievement of the man that leads him to his position. As we have already noted above ascribed status is associated with dominance, whereas achieved status is associated with leadership. The man who has made a significant achievement in life serves as a model and he is accepted by the group. So we have leadership with the consent of the people. No man can become automatically a leader by virtue of his father's position. He has got to work and strive for it.

Murphy (4.539) draws our attention to the fact that aggression often goes with sympathy. Vigorous social behaviour which is implicit in leading and following involves a certain degree of social maturity; a recognition of other people and experience in dealing with them. "Children who had the highest and most stable scores for sympathetic behaviour on the playground were unsympathetic or destructively aggressive when their ego was threatened, when they were teased or misunderstood or put into inferior positions". It is the lively and vigorous person who makes a number of social contacts and consequently achieves maturity and self-confidence. This implies that sympathy and cooperation go along with aggressive vigour and leadership. Whether the leader is of the dominant-authoritative

type or of the democratic type he has to perform a number of specific functions. "However, whatever the nature of the group, all leaders must partake to some degree of the functions of executive, planner, policy-maker, expert, external group representative, controller of internal relationships, purveyor of the rewards and punishments, arbitrator and mediator, and examplar" (5.417). The leader of a group whether in the army, the office or the factory, has to see that the policies are implemented. He has to assign work to the group members. Sometimes a leader may not feel that he can delegate responsibilities to others. He may feel the need to do the work directly. This may lead to difficulties in the operation. He may interfere with the healthy involvements and feelings of group responsibilities of the other members. The leader must also be a planner and he must help the group to decide on the programmes, immediate as well as long range. He must also have enough information and skills to guide the group. But specialisation has advanced so much today that no leader can be expert in all the various tasks which the group has to undertake. Consequently there is the need for the advice from experts. The leader has to control the internal relationships among the members. He has to govern the group structure. He has also to undertake disciplinary action. He must give rewards and punishments to the members. He has also to be an arbitrator and mediator in the conflicts and dissensions which inevitably arise among the members of the group. He must be an impartial judge, but he must also be a conciliator who has to re-establish good group inter-relationship.

There are also cases where the leader is the object of hero worship and emotional fixation among the followers. He acts as an ideal for the followers. He is what the followers like to be. The leader's personality is a great attraction to the followers. The leader, thus, fulfils the needs of the followers. Some of them may want a father-substitute, some of them may seek security and protection from the leader. Others may value the leader so that they can avoid responsibilities. In all these we find the basis for Freud's views (6) regarding the libidinal basis of the leader-follower relationship. It must also be remembered that this relationship is ambivalent. When the leader is unable to fulfil

these needs of the followers he may become an object of detestation and he may be thrown out. Further, it is also found that there is a considerable amount of jealousy among the followers. Each follower will vie with the other to get the attention and the love of the leader. At the same time the moment the leader shows a sign of partiality there will be discontentment, unless the whole group accepts the preferred person as the next in command. Consequently, the leader, like the parent must be very fair and impartial in his dealings with the followers. There is the same phenomenon in the relationship between the king and the subjects.

The United States Army has adopted eleven leadership principles on the basis of the analysis of the behaviour of the successful personalities in the military as well as in the civilian life. Gibb (7.889) has given the following list of seven aspects of leadership behaviour on the basis of those principles :

1. Performing professional and technical speciality.
2. Knowing subordinates and showing consideration for them.
3. Getting channels of communication open.
4. Accepting personal responsibilities and setting an example.
5. Initiating and directing action.
6. Training men as a team.
7. Making decisions.

Thus, a successful leader must be a capable man who is able to do the work very well. He must also be in close touch with the people who work under him. Though the work may be done by the other people he must take on himself the full responsibility for the work. He cannot blame the followers if the work goes wrong, nor can he take the credit when the group succeeds. A successful leader is he who gives the full credit to the followers and takes the full blame on himself for any failures in the group action. This is how he can succeed in keeping the whole group as a team. Finally, he must make the decisions and show initiative, even though he may consult his followers ; and even

though the whole group decides on the particular line of action, he must take the ultimate responsibility for the decision, and not blame the group if the decision happens to be unsuccessful in reaching the group goal.

The communication among the group members will tend to flow through the leader. The disputes and frictions within the group will be referred to the leader. He must be in a position to settle these disputes without showing favouritism or partiality. All these are indications of the prestige position of the leader. But they are also indications of the responsibilities and the expectations which the followers have regarding the behaviour of the leader. So the leader's norms of behaviour are generally very high. The followers expect that the leader's norms should be high. The leader himself should set up high norms for himself. We find this not only truly of the individual leaders but also of the leading group, or caste, or class. If those expectations are not fulfilled the leader cannot retain his position. " In general, the stabilised expectations (norms) defining the role of leadership in a group are more exacting, require greater obligations and responsibilities, than those of other positions in the group. The group members have higher aspirations for the leader, and he sets higher standards for himself. In addition, he is subject to a narrower range of tolerable behaviour than are other group members, in those matters of consequence to the group in terms of its goals " (8.217).

Types of leadership

Martin Conway (9) distinguished between the " Crowd Compeller ", the " Crowd Exponent " and the " Crowd Representative ". The Crowd Representative is the head of a group, he represents the group itself. On the other hand, the Crowd Compeller becomes dominant because he makes the crowd believe in him ; the political demagogue and the religious revivalists are crowd compellers who have almost hypnotic power over the followers. The Crowd Exponent, according to Conway, is the man who senses the vague feelings of the masses and crystallizes their wishes and leads them to action.

Bartlett (10) has classified the leaders into three

groups : the Institutional, the Dominant and the Persuasive.

1. INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS

The institutional leader is the head of the group, the appointed person, or the executive authority.   The patel, the district collector, the president of the country, or of the company, the head in the office, or factory, all these are institutional leaders.   There is prestige attached to his position as the head of the organization and it enables him to assert and maintain authority over the employees, or the members of the group.   Such leaders may be hereditary leaders as in the case of the king or the patel or they may be appointed leaders as in the case of the manager, or the director, or they may be elected leaders as in the case of the president of an organization.   The main problem of the institutional or the executive leaders is to maintain the status of the organization and its prestige and to make the followers or the employees to carry out the programmes. Such leaders may or may not have direct face-to-face contact with the followers.

The patel has direct face-to-face contacts but the managing director of an organization or the district collector does not meet the members in his office or the people at large.   Another distinguishing feature is the hierarchy. There will be various grades of leaders like in an office, or in a factory, in the police, or in the army.   The ultimate orders are passed by the leader but the implementation depends upon the sub-leaders in the hierarchy.   Consequently there is a good deal of obedience from grade to grade. Each man obeys the man at the top and commands the people below him.   So the same person will show leadership attitudes when he is talking to the people below him in rank and assumes submissive attitudes when he speaks to the people above him in rank.   Consequently in the institutional hierarchy a man has to assume both the roles at the appropriate situations.   Yet another feature is the importance of established practices or precedents.   So the " red-tape " becomes a very important factor in the organization.   This has its own advantages and disadvantages.   Because decisions are based on precedents and because decisions are based on the hierarchy pattern grievous wrongs will not be committed and there will not be any breakdown;

but, on the other hand, the whole process is very slow and time-consuming and nobody takes initiative. Every man just discharges his duties on the basis of the orders from above which will be in conformity with established practices and precedents. So the administration tends to become rigid. There is hardly any place for initiative and imagination. The institutional leader is not concerned with what the people are thinking about the social problems. This is why there are constant complaints, that the people in an office, in a factory, or in the army are impersonal in their outlook and do not take interest in the " person " but rather deal with them as " cases ".

2. DOMINANT LEADERS

In a broad way the dominant leaders may be characterised as being extremely aggressive, assertive and extroverted. Their primary aim is to secure action with respect to the problems which are facing the group. They do not have the patience to examine the problems either in detail or in their historical perspective. They are swift in making decisions which are designed to change the existing conditions. The guiding principles of the dominant leader is that any form of action is better than mere thinking. They have a contempt for debates. They are not afraid of making mistakes as long as they can command men who will execute the plans that are placed before them. This will also get the loyalty of the group. The group will be satisfied so long as the leader gives some concrete evidence that he is moving towards the goal. We may illustrate this by reference to an interview of the press representatives with Mannath Padmanabhan, the President of the Nair Service Society of Kerala State and one of the leaders of the anti-communist agitation in the Kerala State in 1959 (11). When he was asked : What will happen if the communists quit the office, Padmanabhan answered : " When once we overthrow the government we will naturally have President's rule for six months and within that time all the leaders of the different parties could sit together and find out what should be done, whether a new party should be formed or the old ones cleaned up so that we can decide which party should finally rule ". When he was asked whether he was not a little too optimistic, he retorted : " Not at all. Our people have learnt so many

lessons under the brutal communist rule and have become so wise that we can now shake them out ". When he was asked whether the present agitation was on constitutional lines, he said : " There are two ways of ousting a ministry — one is by no-confidence motion in the legislature. Another is by the people at large — the real owners of this state. The second method is the one which we are adopting ". When it was pointed out that this method cannot come within the framework of the Constitution, Padmanabhan retorted : " I have not read the Constitution, but I am sure there must be some provision somewhere in the Constitution which allows such a thing to take place. I am not bothered much about it, but what we are anxious to do is to convince the President and the Government of India that the people of Kerala do not like the continuance of the ministry and I can tell you we will succeed ". This is typical of the dominant aggressive leader. He has no patience to think and analyse the situation. He is keen on a series of swift decisions leading the group towards the goal which is wanted by the group. So they come into power to ameliorate intolerable conditions of society. They have a keen sense of the feelings of the people. They have a practical knowledge of the current affairs. Like the institutional leader he dictates procedures, shapes proposals and manipulates followers. But unlike the institutional leader the dominant leader will risk anything to achieve the outcomes affecting the large bodies of people. The dominant leader is not responsive to the conflicting interests in the various sub-groups. He brings about a unification by aggression and suppressing conflicting interests and ideologies. Dictators and autocrats like Napoleon, Hitler, Stalin, Nasser and others when they seize power try to suppress all the political parties and put before the group as a whole, plans which will endear them to the masses. They have no patience with people who counsel caution. They brush aside all doubts as well as the doubters.

3. PERSUASIVE LEADERS

Of all the types of leaders it is the persuasive leader who is most closely in touch with the followers. He mixes with people, understands their problems, their needs and their feelings. Gandhi is a supreme illustration of the persuasive

leader in the history of mankind. Thousands of people would write letters to him and he would patiently send individual replies to each person who wrote to him. Inspite of his innumerable public engagements he would always find time to meet individuals and to talk to them, to write to them. On the other hand the institutional leader, the dominant leader as well as the expert, all these are relatively cold, impersonal and aloof. In contrast, the persuasive leader is full of warmth, and affection to all people. He is alert to the ideas and aspirations of the people and prepares programmes of action on the basis of these aspirations so that the people think that he has originated the plans while actually he has shaped them from out of the aspirations of the group. By means of stereotypes and special appeals he persuades the people to accept the common goals. He arouses the enthusiasm of the people.

4. THE EXPERT

By proficiency in knowledge, technology, art and in other such fields, the expert becomes a leader. But his sphere of influence is very narrow. It is limited to those who seek his advice and come to him. Often an expert influences the group long after his death. People may not realise the worth of his writing when he is alive. The expert may alter the aspirations of the people, as well as the living conditions of the people, by his work. Poets, thinkers, technologists have brought about vast changes in the values, as well as in the way of life. Thus the expert affects the social life indirectly. He has no contact with the masses.

These descriptions of the four types of leaders though very useful in understanding leaders are not satisfactory to explain leadership. Further they are not mutually exclusive categories. An institutional leader may be dominating or persuasive. He may even be an expert. Similarly with change in circumstances the persuasive leader may become dominant. For example, Gandhi was looked upon as a dominant leader on several occasions. Similarly Nehru, who is a persuasive leader, was accused of being dominant when he tried to put into effect the plan for cooperative farming. These descriptions help us to classify leaders, but such a classification cannot be said to

be a sound classification.   In a broad way it may be said that the dominant and persuasive leaders are of the dynamic type.

An experimental study of leadership

Kurt Lewin and his co-workers (12) conducted a series of experiments to study the various aspects of leadership behaviour using experimental procedures.   Lippitt and White (13) have summarised the results of these studies.   They studied the behaviour of children of 10 to 11 years who belonged to a children's club, by submitting them to an alternation of authoritarian, democratic, *laissez faire* leadership.   The leaders in the authoritarian role were coached to give orders and avoid explanations.   Those in the democratic role were trained to discuss problems with the group and obtain group decisions for action.   The leader in the *laissez faire* role was almost entirely passive and never tried to influence the members of the group in any manner.   Four groups of boys were used in the experiment and each group was exposed to each of the three kinds of leadership.   The results were extremely complex.   It was found that in a democratic atmosphere there was more ego-involvement and the group used the words " we ", " us ", and " ours " more often than in the group under the authoritarian atmosphere.   The children in the *laissez faire* atmosphere spent a great deal of time playing, but coordinated action of the group was difficult.   The autocratic group showed two kinds of reaction ; either the children were cowed down into apathy or they responded with aggressiveness.   It was also found that the apathetic group showed marked aggressiveness when the atmosphere changed to the democratic or to the *laissez faire* variety. The results provided evidence for the hypothesis that the conduct of the group is a function of its structure. Aggressiveness was very low under the democratic leadership.   It was also found that some boys preferred the autocratic to the democratic order.   Peak (14) in his study of Nazi membership observes " persons reared in the authoritative family, which is common in Germany, typically find the greatest security and satisfaction where they are dominated by superior authority on the one hand and where they can, on the

other, ' lord it over ' some one else of lower status". Thus the background in which people are brought up is a factor of considerable importance which determines the way in which people respond to the authoritarian or democratic leadership.

Traits of leadership

It is generally assumed that leadership itself is a trait in a human being. However, this view does not find favour among the investigators. As Lapiere and Farnsworth put it, " It is meaningless to say of a man that he is a leader. A leader in what ? Leadership presupposes some sort of skill if only the ability to talk louder and faster than others, but there is no single kind of skill that will give the individual leadership in all kinds of circumstances and over all kinds of people " (15.261). A number of attempts have been made to identify the traits which go to make up leadership. As long ago as 1904 Terman (16) made a preliminary study of the leadership qualities. He found that the leader is less selfish, more daring, less emotional, betterlooking, and of a larger size, than the followers. Bird (17.379) examined 20 enquiries and found 79 traits. However, he found that 51 traits or 65% of them were mentioned only once. 20% were mentioned two times, 5% of them three times and another 5% four times. Among the traits mentioned only two times are aggressive, ascendant, dignified, expansive, friendly, honest, just, reliable, self-composed, self-controlled, sociable, suggestible, talkative, vigorous. The four qualities mentioned only three times among the 20 enquiries are courageous, original, self-reliant and tactful. Those mentioned four times are enthusiastic, fair, self-confident and sympathetic. The two qualities, extroverted and sense of humour, were given in five enquiries while initiative was given six times and high intelligence ten times. Bird points out that in all these studies " instead of defining the field of leadership in which the traits are manifest only the lists are given ". Obviously the person who becomes a leader among the boy scouts in a school, the young man who becomes the editor of the college newspaper, the person who becomes the captain of a football team, the adult who becomes the leader of a gang of thieves, all these cannot be said to have the

same traits. The second drawback pointed out by Bird is that these lists do not include the negative or the anti-social traits. Adler (18) has shown that a man with strong feelings of inferiority may seek a position in which he can direct other people. Often leadership becomes a compensatory activity for intense inferiority feelings. Biographies of Napoleon indicate the humiliations he felt when he was in school with the more prosperous and enlightened children from the French noble families. The autobiography of Gandhi gives vivid details about the humiliations he suffered when he was practising as a barrister in South Africa. The lists of traits do not include such aspects of personality which may be the source for the greatest achievement of many people. Further the lists include only the desirable qualities and exclude the undesirable qualities among the leaders. So Bird points out that these lists are influenced by stereotypes concerning leadership. It is true that most of these lists are based on inductive enquiries, studies among school and college groups, and other voluntary organizations. But the large amount of disagreements is due to the fact that different positions of leadership require different traits and so it is difficult to draw up a list which is common to leaders of all kinds. Bearing these deficiencies in view we may study some of the findings of the several investigations.

There have been many investigations regarding the relationship between leadership and intelligence. With few exceptions they agree in finding that leaders are superior to non-leaders. We have already seen that in small groups as well as in collective behaviour, leaders emerge when there is a group problem. Consequently, one of the important tasks of the leaders is problem solving. So it is not surprising that intelligence plays a very important part as a contributing factor in leadership. Cattell (19) described "general mental capacity" as one of the 12 primary source traits of personality. Adjectives such as the following are given by Cattell: intelligent, wise, emotionally mature, reliable, independent, thoughtful, deliberate, not frivolous, persevering, painstaking, mentally alert and vigorous, conscientious, having intellectual and wide interests. These traits included by Cattell in the general mental capacity are obviously of very great value to be a successful

leader. Gibb (20) reports that less than 1% of the candidates selected for officer training in the military were below the estimated population mean. This, however, should not be taken as an indication that the most intelligent man in the group is best fitted to be the leader of that group. As Gibb writes, " In general we conclude that leaders are more intelligent than followers, but one of the most interesting results emerging from studies in this area is the discovery that they must not exceed the followers by too large a margin, for great discrepancies between the intelligence of leaders and followers militate against the emergence of the leadership relation, presumably because such wide discrepancies render improbable the unified purpose of the individuals concerned " (7.886). According to Hollingworth (21) the leadership pattern will not form, or it may break up even if it is formed, when the difference between the leaders and the led is more than 30 points. Terman also asserts that when the leaders are more than 1.5 S.D. above average, difficulties may arise and the leader may tend to forsake political for cultural leadership. Particularly in the democratic society as the leader is to represent the masses he cannot be the most intelligent man in the group. Hence in a democracy, the most intelligent people of the group do not find a place in the legislatures. But it is true that the leader must be more intelligent than the mean of the group. This is a significant thing. Otherwise he will not be able to succeed as a leader.

As regards the other traits we can give briefly the results of the two surveys made a few years back by Jenkins (22) and Stogdill (23). While confirming the work of Bird already referred to regarding the lack of overlapping among the traits, they have also shown that leaders excel the other group members in at least one of the abilities, skills or personality characteristics relevant to the activities of the particular group. As we have seen in the earlier chapter on group formation, leadership is a status in a group structure and the group can form only when it has got a definite norm. Thus that individual who is able to help the group to reach its goals better than the other members will be in a position to command the confidence of the members of the group and obtain and continue to maintain the leadership position.

30

The situational tests

With the vast advances made by technology, society has found that it is necessary to select the right kind of men for appointment as leaders in industries, administrative services and in the army. It is this need of the society which has been responsible for many of the studies using the trait approach. Because of the fact that this trait approach to the assessment of personality with respect to leadership has not been useful, attempts have been made in recent years to develop " situational tests " in order to assess the leadership qualities. Particularly during the Second World War, the various countries which had to build up huge armies at a very short notice, made use of psychological tests to select men for leadership positions. The officers selection boards in England, United States and in India have been using these tests to aid them in selecting officers even during the peace time. In India the officers selection boards started functioning during the Second World War in 1944. We may now briefly summarise the methods used to select the officers. As we have noted above, intelligence is one of the important traits. Consequently we find that intelligence tests are used in order to select candidates who are well above 100 I.Q., the mean of the population. Next the situational techniques are made use of where a group of individuals are placed together in a situation and are instructed to perform some task, or solve a problem, or discuss an issue. Harris (24.19) looks upon leadership as " the measure and degree of an individual's capacity to influence — and be influenced by a group in the implementation of a common task ". The War Office Selection Board analysed " group effectiveness " into three aspects : The ability to perform the job, the ability to bind the group, group cohesiveness in the direction of the common task and the stability of the individual to withstand frustration (3.84).

In the situational tests the groups are assigned some tasks or are given a problem to discuss. In one set of situations, no leader is appointed and as the whole group functions to fulfil the task, observers will note the differences among the various individuals, with respect to planning, organization, inspiring group solidarity and stability and so on. Observations have also been made of the behaviour of indi-

viduals when they are appointed as leaders of the group and are given very difficult tasks. These tests used in the several officers selection boards in several countries have helped to find out the extent to which leadership qualities pertaining to such situations are present. It may be recalled that in these situations there is no "group formation". It is just a togetherness situation. But they are all assigned a group task which can be fulfilled only if they function as a group. It is under such conditions that the emergence of leaders is observed. This situational approach to the assessment of the leadership qualities in men has been found to be more useful than the trait approach which we have discussed in the earlier section.

Factorial study of leadership

Several attempts have been made in recent years to use the factor analysis techniques to determine basic factors underlying leadership behaviour. Carter (25) made a factorial study and reported the following three factors :

1. Group goal facilitation involving efficiency, insight, and co-operation, in enabling the group to solve their task.
2. Individual prominence involving influence, initiative, aggressiveness and confidence.
3. Group sociability involving striving for group acceptance, co-operation and adaptability.

In another study Halpin and Winer (26) obtained the following four factors :

1. CONSIDERATION (49.6%)
The leader is considerate to the members of the group while they are carrying out their work. Consideration does not imply laxity. It only implies warmth of personal relationships, readiness to explain and willingness to listen to the remarks of the subordinates.

2. INITIATING STRUCTURE (33.6%)
This factor involves the organization of functions among the various members of the group. Clearly defining the

relation between himself and others, assigning particular tasks to members and maintaining definite standards of performance.

3. PRODUCTION EMPHASIS (9.8%)

This involves motivating the group and getting the job done.

4. SENSITIVITY OR SOCIAL AWARENESS (7.0%)

The leader does not "blame" the members of the group who make mistakes. He does not make scapegoats of his subordinates. He is sensitive to the conflicts of the members of the group and understands them.

Thus there is similarity between Carter's group goal facilitation and Winer's production emphasis. Similarly there is some correspondence between the factor of individual prominence isolated by Carter and the factors of consideration and initiative structure isolated by Halpin and Winer. There is also a similarity between the group sociability factor of Carter and Winer's social awareness factor. Thus, these factorial studies throw considerable light regarding the problem of leadership.

Democratic vs. Authoritarian leadership

In the political as well as the social life of today there is a big conflict between the two ideologies involving the two techniques of leadership. The communist countries stress the techniques of the authoritarian form of leadership, where one party is supreme and controls all the activities of the group, for the benefit and welfare of the group as a whole. Similarly in the 1950s in country after country in the Middle East as well as in the Far East, which emerged from colonialism to democracy there was loss of faith in democracy and so the army generals assumed dictatorship in order to bring about social justice and promote the welfare of the masses. On the other hand in India as well as in countries of Western Europe and North America the faith in democracy is very strong. These countries hold that no individual or single party can achieve the welfare of the group as a whole without the full cooperation and consent of the individuals. We may briefly summarise the

characteristics of these two opposing kinds of leadership.

The essential difference between these two forms of leadership arises from the source of power. The democratic leadership gets its source of power from the group itself. But in imperialism as well as in dictatorship, the authoritarian power stems from outside the group. In democratic leadership the decisions are made after consultation, whereas in the authoritarian form the leaders make decisions without consultation. In the village panchayat there is a peculiar combination of both democracy and authoritarianism. The patel or the deshmukh is an all powerful man, but field studies of the actual working of the panchayat have shown that the patel makes his decisions only after consulting the panchayat (27.45ff). So it is the group of elders who ultimately decide the issue. The autocrat depends upon the threat of physical force, but it should be realised that fear is not the only thing that is made use of. It is true that the autocratic leader rouses group fear, insecurity and frustration. For example, Hitler roused Germans to be afraid of the Jews, similarly Jinnah roused the Muslims to be afraid and feel insecure about the Hindus. So, the authoritarian leader may bring about fear in the majojority or in the minority. This is how he establishes his hold on the group. They look upon him as the saviour, as the man who can solve all problems and bring about new social conditions. Thus, the authoritarian leader exploits regressive, primitive, unconscious needs and makes the group dependent on him ; he emphasises obedience to himself and begins to focus group attention on himself. Many studies in Germany have shown that the people value highly authoritarian leadership and regard it as more efficient.

In contrast the democratic technique tries to obtain maximum participation from all the members of the group. Researches have shown that students understand and remember what they have discussed much better than what they have heard from formal lectures. Participation leads to identification with the group task. The democratic technique also uses *group decision*. We have already seen how group decision leads to a greater involvement and solidarity. It also releases *creativity* in the group members while the authoritarian leader seeks to monopolise all knowledge and initiative. The democratic leader gains

strength by utilising to full capacity all the members of the group. It is true that creativity is not "choked" by authoritarian leadership. We find that in the last ten years the Russian scientists and the Russian technologists have made tremendous advances as compared with the scientists and technologists of America and England. Similarly in the 1930s the German scientists and technologists in the days of Hitler made tremendous advances. We may also refer to the way in which the autocratic sultans and rajas gave facilities in India in medieval times for creativity in several fields of art. So it is wrong to say that authoritarian leadership tends to stifle creativity. But it is possible that while it promotes creativity among the selected few it destroys it in the large majority. Probably here we may notice the difference between democratic leadership and authoritarian leadership. However, cohesiveness of the group may be obtained by both the techniques. The group solidarity can be increased either with the use of democratic techniques or by the use of autocratic techniques.

It is possible that the cultural factors may play a very important part. The people with authoritarian tradition in the family, in the neighbourhood groups, in religion, in teacher-pupil relationship and such other vital interpersonal relationships, may feel frustrated when they are exposed to democratic forms of political and social leadership. Probably in the countries of the Middle East, as well as in the countries of South America the constant rise of dictatorships may be due to this fact. While the form of government may be democratic, the upbringing of the individuals may be autocratic and authoritarian. Consequently in such a society the individuals as well as groups feel frustrated that democratic leadership is not functioning properly. They admire firm action involving an unquestioning obedience. When it is possible for them to question and discuss they feel that the whole structure is inefficient and the group may get demoralised. On the other hand, the group that has been brought up in democratic traditions, where the children are looked upon as independent members, whose personality should be respected, where the students are looked upon by teachers as responsible individuals, where the subordinates in the office or in the factory are respected by the people who are in charge

of these groups, authoritarian ways may be resented.

Thus the culture of the group in which people are brought up may be a very important determinant whether they accept authoritarian leadership or democratic leadership. Sanford (28) found that people with authoritarian personalities prefer status-laden leadership and accept strongly directive leadership. He found that such people express open hostility towards a leader as soon as he reveals any signs of weakness.

A second determinant is the nature of the task ; whether the authoritarian type of leader or the democratic type of leader is preferred depends upon the nature of the task. Several times people assert that a dictator is necessary when there is corruption or nepotism in the government, when prices are rising and there is " blackmarketing ". When things are going very bad, when there is an emergency situation, people tend to, cry out for a dictator. As Gibb puts it : " In general, it can be said that emerging leadership in temporary groups is more democratic, more permissive, and less dominant (a) when the situation is one in which no member can feel himself more competent than others, (b) when appropriate techniques of communication are not known or not well understood and (c) when the situation arouses strong attitudes regarding the private rights of all group members. Conversely emergent leadership is more authoritarian, more dictatorial and more restrictive when (a) speed and efficiency are emphasised to the point of outweighing the formalities and (b) when the novelty of the situation for each member precludes his ego-involvement with particular procedures, so that he does not interpret direction as being in any way critical of his ability. If the group is faced with a need for emergency action, then that leader behaviour is more effective, which is prompt and decisive and which is perceived by the members as likely to remove quickly the threats in the situation. Authoritarian leadership is practically demanded under such circumstances " (7.911).

In conclusion we can state that whether the leader is democratic or autocratic, he can survive as a leader only so long as he is acceptable to the group. If the leader is not acceptable to the group he may be thrown out. This is where we find that the democratic process helps to elect

the representatives of the people periodically once in four or five years. In the Kerala State in June 1959 a mass movement to unseat the communist government was started. According to the Indian Constitution the government can be changed only by open election and between two general elections, the government could be thrown out constitutionally only by a motion of " no confidence " in the legislature. Several attempts were made by the opposition parties to move a " no confidence " resolution against the communist government, but they could not succeed. This led to a sense of despair, not only in the political parties, but also in the masses and the mass movement seeking the resignation of the ministers started. Thus, if the leadership is not acceptable to the group either constitutional or revolutionary means may be adopted to throw out the leadership. In 1956 there was a Hungarian mass movement against the communist government. Similarly in 1959 there was a mass movement in Tibet to restore autonomy in Tibet. But both these revolutions and mass movements were put down effectively by the respective governments. Under such circumstances there is a trial of strength between the leadership and the group. Whether the leadership is of the authoritarian type or of the democratic type acceptability to the group is ultimately the basic requirement.

It cannot be said that these forms of leadership are either wholly good or wholly bad. As we have seen above, it depends upon the situation, the nature of the task, the general opinion among the people, whether authoritarian leadership will be preferred or democratic leadership will be preferred. In times of war all democratic forms are willingly surrendered and powers of decision are transferred by the group to the leader. In the Second World War, Churchill and Roosevelt were no less all-powerful than Stalin or Hitler. This implies that the democratic leader must understand the situation and behave in an autocratic way if the situation demands it. Otherwise he will be looked upon as a weak man and the group will get demoralised. Similarly the authoritarian leader must understand the needs of the situation and be democratic in his approach when necessary, otherwise the group may revolt.

Interaction theory of leadership

Thus there have been many attempts to understand the problem of leadership. The outworn theory is that leadership is a unitary trait. Such a notion implies that a leader is a ' born leader ' and that he will be a leader in every group and in every situation. The practice of hereditary leadership is based upon notions like this. This is also implicit with respect to very great authoritarian as well as the democratic leaders. Stalin of Russia was looked upon as an expert in every field of human endeavour. The Russians as well as the communist party throughout the world looked upon his pronouncements as gospel truths. Similarly there was a tendency to accept Gandhi's pronouncements as unquestionable and valid even though he never arrogated to himself such a privilege. He called his autobiography *My Experiments with Truth*. He realised fully that he was a " seeker " after truth and not a " propounder " of truth. Still the followers looked upon him as an " inspired " person whose word was law.

We have seen already that this unitary trait theory of leadership is absolutely unsatisfactory because it assumes that all kinds of leaders in all kinds of cultures in the different situations reveal this trait of leadership. We have seen that this is not true.

A modification of the unitary trait theory is the constellation theory, according to which leadership is a constellation of traits. There is a pattern of traits which characterises a leader, for example, energy, self-confidence, intelligence, verbal fluency, persistence, insight into human nature etc. Thus this theory assumes that there is a basic personality pattern for leaders. We have seen that this approach to the problem of leadership is also not satisfactory. This type of approach to leadership has shown that the traits of the democratic leader or the institutional leader are quite different from the traits of the authoritarian leader or the institutional leader or the expert. We have also seen that the same individual may display different attitudes depending upon the circumstances. Thus we find that all these three approaches are not satisfactory.

As we have seen above any comprehensive theory of leadership must incorporate a number of variables like the

personality of the leader, the attitudes and the needs of the followers, the particular situation and the nature of the task involved and so on.

It must be realised that leadership is an interactional phenomenon which arises when there is group formation. We have seen that a collection of individuals come together and engage themselves in a task which involves the group as a whole ; the group structure then emerges and an individual assumes or is assigned the leadership position. Thus it is as a result of social interaction that leadership emerges.

It must also be remembered that it is only such individuals who have certain personality characteristics that emerge as leaders or are assigned leadership. It is only the man who can solve the problem and who has got the necessary personality traits to enthuse confidence in the group that can function as a leader. Hence the personality characteristics of the individual play a very important part whether a person gets leadership or not, and when he gets it, whether he continues to have that position or not. Leadership is both a function of the social situation and a function of personality. This is the interaction theory of leadership as propounded by Gibb and others. Similarly Helen Jennings writes : " The ' why ' of leadership appears... not to reside in any personality trait considered singly, nor even in a constellation of related traits, but in the interpersonal contribution of which the individual becomes capable in a specific setting eliciting such contributions from him " (29.205).

It must also be realised that the leadership theory involves the socialization process. It depends upon the group in which the individual has been brought up. As we have seen earlier if the society is of the feudal type then the individuals will respond to autocratic leadership, whereas if they are brought up in democratic traditions they prefer an individual who consults the group as a whole and formulates his policies. A group will not tolerate leadership that ignores its opinion.

Leadership also involves how the leader perceives himself and how the members of the group perceive him. A person may possess all the various qualities but the members of the group may not perceive him as having these qualities. Such an individual cannot become a leader.

This is why it was found that selecting leaders for the army in World War II on the basis of personality traits was hopelessly inadequate. Consequently, as we have seen above, miniature situations were set up so that the selection board could observe the way in which the emerging leader or the assigned leader is perceived by the members of the group. Such perception, as well as acceptance, are very basic factors that any theory of leadership must take into account. This is where we find that the interactional theory of leadership is much more satisfactory than the others.

Leadership training

Till very recently contradictory notions regarding the problem of leadership were entertained. It was assumed that the leader is " born " and not " made ". This implied that no training is necessary and that leadership is an innate trait. On the other hand, practice revealed that there was faith in the programme of training. Even hereditary leaders were given training. For example, the son of a king was given special training so that he could assume the role of a prince and later the role of a king. So Valmiki and Vyasa in the two celebrated Indian epics give details of the programmes of training for Rama, Yudhishtira and other princes. Even today we find that though there is a recognition about the need for training administrators, it is believed that no training is necessary for legislators and ministers of the cabinet. It is assumed that if a man gets elected as a leader he has in him all the leadership qualities and he does not require any training. This has been responsible for a good deal of inefficiency.

In the last few years considerable work has been done in the West regarding this problem of leadership training. In the army as well as in industry, and in administration it has been found that without training it is not possible to expect a person in the position of leadership to discharge his duties. There are two aspects to the problem here. One is with respect to knowledge and skills ; the individual to be able to successfully discharge his duties, must have the relevant knowledge and the necessary skills so that he can solve the problems which are facing the group. But there is also a second and probably a more important pro-

blem, and that is, the problem of human relationships. The person in the position of leadership must know how to behave with the other members of the group. This also needs training. Formal training as well as informal training programmes are now being set up in industry as well as in the army and in administration to train people who are in leadership positions. The individual must develop the right attitudes towards problems as well as towards members of the group. There are several obstacles to accept retraining as pointed out by Krech and Crutchfield (5.431). An individual may feel that there is no need for any kind of training. He tends to ascribe his failures to outside factors rather than to some failings in himself. The personality structure of the leader may prevent him from being easily retrained. " The leader often feels extremely status conscious ; he feels a basic sense of personal insecurity which he allays by the demonstration to himself and others of his own leadership role and power. Or he may feel fundamentally inadequate in his responsible position and behave in a particularly dominating and inaccessible way as a cover for this feeling of inadequacy " (5.432). He may lack the necessary skills required in the new leadership role ; but he may be afraid of owning this lack.

Thus the primary purpose of leadership training is to help the individuals to overcome this obstacle. Bavelas (30) describes a study of training in leaders. The behaviour of three supervisors of children's playgroups before and after training was compared with that of a control group of three supervisors who were not given training. All these six supervisors had shown various degrees of inadequacy in leadership. The morale of the children in their groups was low. The method of group control tended to be authoritarian rather than democratic. They depended on commanding the children rather than of placing responsibility on the children to make wise choices. The training programme lasted for three weeks. It was found that the three retrained leaders showed marked improvement as compared with their own behaviour before training and as compared with the non-trained leaders of the controlled group. The morale of the children improved. The children were more enthusiastic for the work and there was greater participation in group activities with higher quality and output of

work. As regards the training programme itself there was discussion of the attitudes and objectives of recreational group work. This helped the trainees to get a perspective of their work. There were also discussions about the qualities a leader of children should have and of the alternative actions available to him. Such discussions enabled the trainees to understand themselves. The trainer himself handled a group of children and there was observation of the techniques of handling and a group discussion about this. According to Bavelas this experiment shows the danger of assuming that personality traits of leadership by themselves can make a person successful as a leader. It was found that this period of three weeks' training helped the poor leaders to become good leaders.

Another technique used in training is the technique of role-play. Here the trainee acts out the role in the training situation and this helps him to understand the problems involved in the leadership situation. Bradford and Lippitt (31) report a study of training supervisors in a business organization. The trainers asked the supervisors to assume the role of supervisors, and another supervisor was asked to assume the employee role. This helped them to see the problems involved from a new perspective and improve their leadership techniques. By assuming the role of the employee it helped the supervisors to get an insight into the attitudes and behaviour of the employee. Mere verbal discussions cannot help to bring out the points of difficulty which role-play can bring out.

Thus, the problem of leadership is a very complicated problem. It involves not only the traits of personality and the nature of the situation and the goals of the group; it also involves the problem of training. Just as training is necessary to help people to obtain the various skills, similarly with training the skills involved in leadership can also be improved. Of course, it must not be assumed that by mere training any person can be made to become a successful leader. All that training does is to help the individual become a better leader than he was before training. At the present moment there is a vast training movement throughout the world; there is what is called T.W.I., "Training Within Industry", where supervisors are given training so that they know how to handle the people who are working

with them. In the office, factory, army and such other organizations there are leaders at different levels and the efficiency of the whole organization depends, not merely on the leader at the top, but also the leaders at every level. Attention may be drawn to the techniques adopted by Mahatma Gandhi in training leaders for the national movement. As is well known, in South Africa, as well as in India, he established *ashrams* where he trained people to lead a simple, dedicated life. He helped them to get all the skills necessary to do the various kinds of jobs in an *ashram*. This training (32) helped hundreds of individuals directly and thousands of individuals indirectly to become successful leaders in the national movement in the thirty years from 1918—1947.

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PART FIVE

APPLICATIONS

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

IN THIS PART we may try to apply some of the principles that we have gleaned in the earlier parts of the book to some practical problems of life and society. We may take up the three broad areas of delinquency, modern industry and the problems of war and peace.

We do not have in the villages and small towns problems of juvenile delinquency, nor do we have problems of mental breakdown excepting probably the cases of hysteria. Delinquency and crime, as well as insanity, are problems which arise as the city becomes bigger and as the culture becomes more and more complicated. It is with the development of "mass society" and the problems that such a society brings, as we have seen in Chapter XVIII that many of the familiar social problems become persistent and need effective methods of prevention and cure. In the small society of the village where there is face-to-face contact, problems of crime and insanity hardly arise. The family bonds as well as the community bonds in the village are quite strong ; so there is no insecurity among the individuals. Of course, it must be realised that there is also no sense of adventure, nor the need for achievement in these rural groups. It is the absence of the sense of adventure and creativity and the need for achievement that is responsible for the stagnation of our villages. Through vast programmes of community development and national extension service the country is trying to bring about a change in the attitude of village people towards the problems of life and work.

It must be realised that the concept of crime is a social concept. In every society there is an accepted pattern of behaviour with its beliefs and attitudes. When an individual disregards the social norms, he may get into conflict with society and law. The laws of the society are formulated to help in building up conduct which will enable the members of the group to lead a harmonious life.

Crimes involve injury either to the property or the other people in the society. What is " criminal " depends upon the legal codes of the particular society. The same action may be criminal in one and not in another group.

Before proceeding further we may briefly consider two hypotheses regarding criminal behaviour. In India criminal tendencies in an individual are looked upon as the result of the evil deeds in the past lives of the members of the family. This assumption implies that a child with " evil tendencies " is born into the family to " punish " the parents for their evil deeds in their past lives. There is no doubt that there is a large element of truth in this view provided we do not bring in the past lives into the picture but only limit ourselves to the past actions of the parents in this life. If the child develops to be a delinquent it is because of the deeds of omission and commission by the parents during his childhood. In this sense the doctrine of *karma* is valid. Another prevailing hypothesis, in India, as well as in other countries of the world, is that the criminal is born with his criminal traits and tendencies. In India lakhs of people, till recently, were called by the law, the " criminal tribes ". Members of these tribes had to report themselves to the police whenever they migrated from place to place. It is certainly true that members of these tribes were responsible for many crimes. Since Independence these laws have been repealed and a good deal of ameliorative work is being done to help the members of these groups to settle down to agriculture and other occupations of life. As we have noted above, crime is a social concept. Among the members of the criminal tribes, stealing is not looked upon as a crime. Here we find a conflict between the norms of a small group and the norms of a bigger group. Children are praised if they steal property from the other houses. Thus, they are brought up with different social norms. Of course, they are also taught that they should be careful not to be caught in the act of stealing. Investigations have now shown that there is no truth behind this notion of hereditary factors involved in crime and delinquency. As a matter of fact today the problem of delinquency is looked upon as a social problem.

As we have seen above, the fundamental drives lead to behaviour (Chapter X). We have also seen that the inner ten-

sions in the individual are reduced by behaviour. However, such behaviour which reduces the inner tensions may be in line with the social code, or it may be against. Thus, our reactions to the various social situations are " learnt " reactions. Delinquent acts are " learnt " acts. That is why it will be nearer the truth to speak of *delinquent behaviour* rather than *delinquent boy* or *delinquent girl*. Because the action gives satisfaction, it is reinforced and repeated and so he develops strong tendencies and it will be very difficult for the individual to give up such reactions even if he desires to.

Another aspect of delinquency is the difference in the social norms between the smaller group and a larger group. As we shall see in greater detail later, delinquent acts are done in company with other people. In these smaller groups the delinquent act may earn praise and commendation while the same act may be disapproved by the family and by the members of the larger society in the neighbourhood or by law. Under such circumstances the approval of the smaller group may be valued more than the approval of the larger group. The fear of disapproval by the larger group may operate only to make the boy more careful so that he is not caught.

Yet another aspect of the delinquency is that the individual may be perfectly normal and behave according to the social codes of the family and the neighbourhood under most of the circumstances. It is only when he is confronted with one or two types of situations that he may manifest delinquent behaviour. Thus delinquent behaviour is not the characteristic behaviour of any individual. He does not behave in a criminal way in all situations.

Thus, delinquents are not a specific type of human beings. They are quite normal individuals with normal desires, but with some form of maladjustment. These maladjustments create difficulties for themselves, as well as for the members of the family. Recent studies have shown that delinquency is a reaction to certain aspects of the family situation.

Delinquency and aggressive behaviour

The child finds satisfaction within the home and by playing with the children in the neighbouring homes. But as the

child grows older, particularly after about the age of 10, he does not feel happy sitting at home. He moves out and meets boys of his own age or the older boys in other localities in the city. This increase in social contact is in line with his wider interests and with the growth in his personality. After about 12 years he has more interests. He feels more independent. But it is possible that he is still treated as a child in the house. This brings about a conflict. He is frustrated that he is not given the proper status in his house. This frustration leads to aggression, rebellion and anti-social acts. As Uday Shankar puts it : " Delinquency is a rebellion and an expression of aggression which is aimed at destroying, breaking down, or changing the environment.... this rebellion is mostly against the social conditions which deny the individual his basic rights and the satisfaction of his fundamental needs...." (1.20). Basic social needs, like the need for recognition, and the desire to be independent are, in his judgment, not satisfied within the family situation. But when he is with members of his gang, he gets satisfaction for these needs. Thus delinquency is due to faulty upbringing and wrong treatment. Such individuals may become hostile and rebellious against their parents, teachers and the whole social organization because they feel that they have failed them in the satisfaction of their fundamental needs. In describing the behaviour of the adolescent, Dollard and his associates write, " ....his sphere of activities is circumscribed, his efforts to assert himself are suppressed, his possessions are definitely limited, his economic independence is not tolerated, his status as an adult is unrecognised and many of the restrictions of his childhood remain in force " (2.95).

A few years back a boy of 14 studying in the high school was brought to the writer because the parents were in despair about the future of the boy. The family was living in a small city of about one lakh population. The father was an advocate and the mother was a high school teacher. The boy, it was reported, was neglecting his studies ; he was mixing with undesirable boys in the neighbourhood, and he was stealing money from the pocket of the father or the mother. On one occasion, he ran away from home in the morning and returned only in the night. On interview it was found that the boy stole the money to

purchase some delicacies which his mother was not preparing at home. Further, the boy said that he never had any money and the only way of getting money was by stealing. It was also found that he felt that his younger sister was liked by his parents much more than they liked him. Thus sibling rivalry, and the desire for economic independence, which was denied by the parents, who did not give him any money, resulted in hostility towards the parents. Desire for some delicacies which the mother was not preparing, together with the fact that his companions were ready to give him full support and approval for stealing, as well as for going and purchasing food from a hotel all these led to delinquent acts on the part of the boy. The parents were advised to give him a regular monthly allowance and encourage him to go and open a savings bank account in his name in the post office. They were also asked to demonstrate their affection to him a little more than what they were used to, and the mother was asked to prepare once a week the delicacies which the boy liked. It was later reported that the boy was perfectly all right in his behaviour at home and that he was doing very well in his studies at the school. Thus there is a great need for case studies of these delinquent children. Each individual has to be studied so that we can find out his problem and why he feels frustrated.

Uday Shankar's study of 140 juvenile delinquents

Uday Shankar has reported his study of 140 juvenile offenders in Delhi (1). He found that the age of the offenders ranged from 7 to 19 while the largest majority, 80 out of 140, were between 13 and 15 years of age, and there were 108 children between 12 and 16. Thus, it is in the period of adolescence that the incidence of delinquent behaviour is the highest.

He found that the average offences were 2.6 with a range from 1 to 6. He found that 61% of the offences related to stealing, pilfering or burglary. If we add to this 16.7% of the cases of pickpocketing, we get altogether 77.7% of cases for stealing and pickpocketing. He also found that 60% of the cases were connected with truancy or running away from the home or the school. 19% of the cases were

connected with begging, 14% with cheating, 13% with gambling, 11% with assault and violence to individuals, 11% with destruction of property, 11% with sexual offences and 2.3% each for murder and intoxication.

It must be remembered that these figures of the various types of offences among the children pertain only to 140 cases in one study. Still this study is of value to show us the types of cases that are involved in juvenile delinquency. The American and the British studies report that about 80% of the cases are connected with stealing, 28% of the cases are connected with violence or fighting and damage or destruction to the property. Truancy from school and home is 21.5%, begging is involved in 7.3% of the cases and the sexual offences are a little less.

The causes of delinquency

As we have seen above there is no single cause or simple explanation for the development of delinquent behaviour. We have seen that it is a learnt reaction. We have also seen that cultural factors regarding the social norms and the conflicts between the social norms of the smaller groups and those of the larger groups play a very important part. Learning depends upon social conditions, the intelligence of the individual, motivation and a number of other factors. Thus, delinquency is due to the operation of a number of different factors. In a broad way we can classify the causes of delinquency under two major factors. (1) *Social factors*: what are the social situations under which delinquent behaviour occurs most frequently? and (2) *Personality factors*: these may be treated under two subheads: intelligence and the general personality structure.

Social factors as causes of delinquency

1. BROKEN HOMES
British and American investigations reveal that nearly 50% of the delinquents come from broken homes. Uday Shankar found that only 13.3% of the 140 delinquents that he studied came from broken homes (1-34). This shows the difference in cultural conditions between India and the countries of the West. This may be due to the influence of

technology on society. It has been found that family ties become weaker with the increase in the industrialisation and the formation of the mass-society. Divorce and re-marriage are quite common in the West. In India the public opinion against divorce and remarriage is very strong. It is possible that with increase in industrialisation the situation may change, but probably the ties of marriage at home may not be affected very much even when indus-trialisation is advanced in India. The home may be broken up by death of one or both of the parents, or by prolonged illness or insanity, desertion, or divorce. We have seen earlier that interaction in the home is a very important means for socializing the child. It is true that the mother plays a very important part in socializing the child and if she divorces her husband or deserts him or dies, the growth of the child will be affected. Similarly the father is a very important figure in the discipline of home. So if he dies or deserts, the child will be affected. But we cannot say that a broken home inevitably leads to delinquent behavi-our on the part of the children. It is true that in the West nearly 50% of the children in the reformatories come from the broken homes while only 20% of the children of the ordinary schools come from the broken homes. In one study (3) it was found that when the socio-economic status and nationality were equalised as high as 36% of the non-delinquents came from the broken homes. This shows that delinquents as well as non-delinquents are to be found in the broken homes. Though all the children are living in the same home still the effect of the broken home is not the same on all the children. There are differences in emotional rewards, in deprivation and frustration ; there are variations in response to security and insecurity from child to child. Thus the broken home is not an identical situation for all the brothers and sisters. So while an en-vironmental condition is a very important factor in the causation of maladjustments in behaviour, we must also take into account the personality structure of the indivi-dual, the way in which the individual reacts to the cir-cumstances. It may be pointed out that in India even when there is death or desertion or divorce children are look-ed after by near relatives like aunts or the grandmother and so on.

2. POVERTY

A very large proportion of delinquent children come from poor homes. Glueck and Glueck (4) found that 14.8% of the delinquents came from dependent families and 56.4% came from marginal families who were leading a hand to mouth existence, without any saving. Only 28.8% of the children came from comfortable homes. Thus the chances of a child of a comfortable home becoming a delinquent are very low, while the chances are very high for a child to become delinquent if he is coming from a poor underprivileged family. The Gluecks also report that 37% of the fathers of the delinquent children were skilled labourers while 23% were semi-skilled labourers and 40% were unskilled labourers. Thus not a single parent of the delinquent children came from the clerical services or from the professional services. Thus the type of the work which the father does is also an important determinant with respect to delinquency. Uday Shankar reports that only 4% of the children came from comfortable homes and 13% came from marginal homes, the remaining 83% of the children came from poor homes (1.36). While these factors show that poverty is a contributing cause resulting in delinquent behaviour it cannot be concluded that poverty by itself is the sole cause. It is a painful fact that poverty is rampant in India, but still millions of poor people bring up their children in a very disciplined manner. That is why the figures for delinquency are low. According to a report of the Ministry of Education (5) 32,400 children were awarded sentences for delinquency in 1949 while in 1950 (6) it was reported that in all the states except U.P. 40,119 children were put up for trial in the juvenile courts. It is possible that many cases did not come before the courts at all and were settled by suitable action by the family and the members of neighbourhood. Poverty leads to either or both of the parents to be outside the home for a very long period. The children will be uncared for. It is estimated that in the market in the city of Mysore in 1959, there were more than 100 boys of teenage trying to earn a few annas by carrying the parcels of the buyers. Similarly we find a number of poor boys near the railway stations, hotels and cinemas. Juvenile delinquents will come out of these groups and so the state, the local body, as well as the voluntary

agencies will have to do some welfare work to enable these poor boys to have the proper training so that they can become good citizens.

3. DELINQUENCY AREAS

Long ago Burt (7) showed that there are certain areas in London from which the majority of delinquent children come. It is in the areas of poor housing, overcrowding, in the areas in which cinema houses and hotels are in large numbers that most of the delinquents come. Burt found a high correlation of .77 between delinquency and density of population. Similarly Shaw and his associates (8) found that the majority of the juvenile delinquents came from the centre of Chicago and that the number diminished as one proceeded to the zones in the periphery of the city. While this ecological study is very significant, it should also be borne in mind that not all the boys in the delinquent areas are delinquents. It is true that when a family is living in the heart of the town the chances are greater for the boys to pick up delinquent behaviour than when the parents move out into homes in better localities far away from the areas of the hotels and cinemas and shops. But not all the children in the heart of the city area become delinquents.

4. COMPANIONS AND GANGS

As the boy grows older he goes into the neighbourhood and becomes a member of the playgroup. It is possible that this may give rise to a conflict between the norms set up in the home and the norms set up in the playgroup. If they are different then the boy has conflicts. He has to conform with one set of norms at home and a different set of norms in the playgroup. The group at home as well as the group in the neighbourhood will exert social pressures inducing conformity. Studies have shown that the groups outside the home like the playgroup, the school group, the groups that he meets in places of worship, all have tremendous effects on the personality of the child ; they are also very important agencies in the process of the child's socialization.

Due to overcrowding in the cities, there are many slums. Further, trade and commerce as well as industries may

spring up in the residential areas of the city. This brings about tremendous social problems. The families with a wider outlook on life will move away to the extensions. But the other families, either due to narrowness in outlook, or due to inertia, or due to poverty, will remain in the same areas even though they are invaded by commerce and industry. The children of such homes will not have the necessary recreational facilities. It is in this way that the slum areas give rise to the peculiar social group, the " Gang ". Earlier (Chapter XVII) we have seen the structure of these street corner gangs and how studies of these groups have helped us to understand the processes underlying group formation. We can now refer to some of the other aspects of these studies. Generally the gang starts as a playgroup. In the absence of playground facilities, the children will start playing in the streets and eventually organize themselves into gangs. Thrasher (9) reports of a case where children living in the homes on one side of the street formed into a gang to fight the children living on the other side of the street who had formed into another gang. One of the essential features of the gang is its desire to fight another gang. Hence the gang has all the attributes of an ingroup like, loyalty, cooperation, social solidarity and unity. These gangs are also associated with crime in all its aspects like delinquency, rioting, corrupt politics and so on. Studies have shown that these children will be roughly between 10 and 16 in age. Each gang will have its own name with a regular time and place for meeting. It has got its own leaders. Generally the leader is the strongest person or the most resourceful person, leading the group in stealing and fighting. We find here an interesting parallel to the dominant behaviour which we have already seen among the monkeys and apes (Chapter IV). Studies have also shown that these children come from poor families where there is constant friction between the parents. The families are also associated with alcoholism. Thus, the children who become members of a gang are those with little or no parental guidance. In the Five Year Plans, India is trying to set up vast sums of money for slum clearance in the big cities of the country. If the residential areas are shifted from the centres of trade, commerce and industry, home life will certainly tend to become better.

Studies have also shown that delinquent acts are done in company. Shaw (11) in his Illinois crime survey of 1929 analysed 6,000 cases of stealing and found that in 90% of the cases two or more boys were involved in the crime. Similarly Glueck and Glueck (4) found that in 72% of the cases two or more companions were involved. Healy reports that companionship was a single factor in causing delinquency in 34% of the cases, while Burt gives the figure at 18% and Uday Shankar gives it at 23%. Often parents complain that their boys were good boys and that they had been made delinquent by bad companionship. However, mere companionship by itself may not lead to juvenile delinquency unless there are some defects in the character formation in the individual. It is possible that they will be more easily influenced by suggestions for rebellion and anti-social activities. Thus in order to understand the genesis of delinquency it will be necessary to study the earlier developmental history of the child in the home. It is true that a boy feels reassured if his companions help him and give him support. Here again we find the influence of the social norms that are existing in a restricted group of the companions.

It is generally believed that the cinemas lead children to delinquency by showing pictures where the juvenile delinquents operate. But studies have shown that the cinema by itself does not lead to any such effect, though a group of boys who have already formed themselves into a gang may be influenced by some of the screen techniques and apply them. In other words they may use the techniques seen in the cinemas to satisfy their needs which they have already felt.

Individual factors

We have seen that there are a number of social factors which tend to contribute to the causation of delinquency; but we have also seen that no social factor by itself could be looked upon as inevitably giving rise to delinquent behaviour in an individual. This matter will be further clarified if we study briefly the investigations regarding the personality factors. We can consider these factors under two heads : (a) the cognitive factor in the individual and

(b) the general personality structure of the individual.

1. MENTAL DEFICIENCY IN DELINQUENCY

The relationship between intelligence and delinquent behaviour has been studied very carefully. This is due to the controversy whether delinquency is environmental or genetic. Long ago Lumbroso, the Italian, who started empirical studies of crime, asserted that criminals have defective physique and defective intelligence. After tests were developed to measure intelligence, several attempts have been made to measure the intelligence of the juvenile delinquents. All these studies have given rise to three general conclusions. The investigations of Healy, Burt and others have clearly shown that delinquents are not mental defectives. But it is also clear that the average intelligence of the delinquent group is lower than the average intelligence of the normal group. Finally, we also find that there is larger proportion of mental defectives in the juvenile delinquent group than among the normal children. We can now briefly summarise the facts that have been ascertained by a few of the outstanding studies. While the average intelligence in a normal group of children is 100 I.Q., Burt (7) reported that the average I.Q. of delinquents is 85, Healy (11) found that it was 90, Merrill (12) found that it was 92.5 and Uday Shankar (1) found that it was 83. Thus these studies clearly show that the average intelligence of the juvenile delinquents is definitely lower

Distribution of Intelligence among Normal and Delinquent Children

	% Of unselected No. 2904 (Merrill 12)	% Delinquents No. 500 (Merrill 12)	% Delinquents No. 140 (Uday Shankar 1)
140 and above	1.3	1.0	1.5
120-139	11.3	6.8	..
110-119	18.2	9.4	5.9
90-109	46.5	39.0	25.2
80- 89	14.5	18.6	17.8
70- 79	5.6	13.6	22.2
Below 70	2.6	11.2	27.4
Average I. Q.	101.8	92.5	83.0

than the average intelligence of unselected population of children of the same age group. But they also show that the juvenile delinquents as a group are not mental defectives. They are only below average. Merrill (12) has studied 2,904 unselected children and 500 delinquents and has given the distribution of intelligence for these two groups. Uday Shankar (1) has studied the distribution of intelligence in 140 delinquents. In the table on p. 494 the figures pertaining to the two studies are given so that we can understand the way in which intelligence is distributed in the normal population and in a population of juvenile delinquents.

This table clearly shows that the juvenile delinquents are by no means a distinct group of human beings. Of course there is a big difference between the normal groups and the juvenile delinquent groups as regards the average. There is also a big difference regarding the percentage of children below 70 I.Q. But these figures conclusively show that juvenile delinquents cannot be looked upon as a group of mental defectives. In general, studies have shown that below 70 I.Q. there are only about 3% of the children, who are mental defectives in an unselected population of children. However, among the delinquent groups we have about 12 to 15% mental defectives. This shows that the number of mentally defective children among the delinquents is about 4—5 times larger than in a normal population. Uday Shankar has found that the proportion of mentally defective children is very high among the 140 juvenile delinquents he has studied. 27.4% of them are below 70 I.Q. It is possible that if he had studied a larger population of juvenile delinquents the figures would be closer to those of the other investigators in other parts of the world.

Merrill made another comparison of the average intelligence of the delinquents and non-delinquents. It is an established fact that the children of parents with the lower socio-economic status have a lower I.Q. It is also a fact, as we have seen earlier, that a very high proportion of the juvenile delinquents come from the families which are socially and economically handicapped. Consequently we may assume that the average intelligence of juvenile delinquents from these socially and economically handicapped groups is low, but that the average intelligence of the non-

delinquent children from these handicapped groups is also low. Merrill tested this hypothesis. She compared a group of 300 delinquent boys and girls with a control group of the same number from the same socio-economic group. She found that while the average I. Q. of the 300 delinquent children was 86.7, the average I.Q. of the 300 non-delinquent children from the same communities and the same schools was 89.3 (12.170). Thus the assumption that a large proportion of the delinquents have a lower intelligence is not justified by this study of Merrill.

It seems reasonable to assume that the dull and the mentally handicapped adolescents did not have the necessary insight to make any ethical distinctions which are necessary for life in a bigger city. It is possible that these children may be used by the more intelligent children of the gang or the adults for their criminal purposes and that these children may get caught. Uday Shankar gives the case of a boy reading in the eighth class who ran away from home taking the ornaments of his sister-in-law. He was an orphan living with his elder brother. He was dull in the school and had failed twice in the class. So his sister-in-law rebuked him and asked him to go out and earn his livelihood. This boy, who was already ashamed of his school record, who did not have the loving care of the father and the mother, who was feeling that he was depending upon his brother and sister-in-law, felt greatly insulted and stole some money and ornaments from his home and ran away. He joined the street corner gang. " One day one of his companions asked him to stand on the crossing of a road and be on the look-out for the policeman while he was breaking open the shop of a silversmith. The police patrol passing that way suspected him standing on the roadside in that manner late at night and apprehended him. His companion seeing the police from a distance had already escaped, in darkness, but this dullard was sent to the camp jail to stand his trial " (1.41).

2. EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The delinquent, like all human beings, is a product of his social environment. We have seen that certain situations in the upbringing of the child are associated with delinquent behaviour. But the problem is : why did the indi-

vidual do whatever he has done? In trying to understand the individual we find that the case histories and the interviews have thrown a good deal of light regarding the emotional reactions of the delinquents. In their analysis of 143 delinquents, Healy and Bronner found that 92% of the delinquents displayed emotional disturbances. Feelings of inadequacy and inferiority were frequently found among them. In almost one half of the group they were persistently present. Next in importance were the feelings of insecurity and of being rejected by the parents and other members of the family. About one-third of the group experienced deep feelings of being thwarted; another third were greatly concerned with disharmony and problems of discipline. Similarly one-third of the people experienced persistent sibling jealousy or rivalry. Thus these emotional problems of inferiority, insecurity, jealousy and being thwarted are very common among the delinquent children. Carl Rogers has laid down. " Behaviour is basically the goal-directed attempt of the organism to satisfy its needs as experienced in the field as perceived " (13.491). Thus the delinquent behaviour is a response to the need for recognition and resentment against the sense of insecurity and the feeling of being rejected and thwarted. " Delinquency is a rebellion and an expression of aggression which is aimed at destroying, breaking down or changing the environment, but as this rebellion is mostly against the social conditions which deny the individual his basic rights and the satisfaction of his fundamental needs " (1.20), it helps us to understand that delinquent behaviour is different from normal behaviour only in degree and not in kind. It is wrong to assume that delinquent behaviour is something peculiar and constitutional, that delinquents are born so. It is because of the situation in which the individual finds himself, it is because of the feelings that he experiences that he engages himself in rebellious and anti-social activities. So delinquents should be regarded as maladjusted personalities and not as peculiar human beings with different kinds of needs. Their needs and desires are normal ; only they are victims of a faulty upbringing and wrong treatment. They become hostile and rebellious because they feel threatened. They try to protect themselves by attacking instead of by adaptation. According to Uday

32

Shankar there are two types of delinquents : those who are active, restless and un-inhibited, who steal in order to show their power and to enhance their prestige in the eyes of their companions ; the other type are " the sly, quiet, vindictive and the selfish, lacking in feelings of shame or of consideration or thought of others. They are of hard nature internally though they may bear a smiling face " (1.21).

According to psycho-analytic view (14) the delinquent is an individual who is governed by the " pleasure principle ". He wants to get immediate pleasures and immediate gratification for his needs. So he yields to his impulses. According to Friedlander delinquent character is the result of three factors : the strength of the unmodified instinctive urges, the weakness of the ego and the lack of independence and strength of super-ego. He is unable to consider the consequences of his act nor is he able to control his impulsive needs in the light of moral considerations. In other words neither realistic considerations nor moral considerations operate in the individual to curb his impulses.

We may now refer to the results of an important study by Bowlby (15) ; he studied carefully 44 thieves who were sent to the London Child Guidance Clinic for treatment. He compared these children with 44 children who came to the clinic for treatment but who did not steal. He found that 17 of the thieves had suffered from prolonged separation from their mothers while in the control group only two had a similar experience. As we have already seen prolonged parental deprivation, particularly at the tender age from 2—5 years, is very disastrous to the normal growth of the child (Chapter IX). The affectionless and the loveless life leads to severe maladjustments and delinquency is one of the manifestations of such maladjustments. Stott (16) asserts " that delinquent breakdown is an escape from emotional situation which, for the particular individual with the various conditioning of his background, becomes almost temporarily invariable" (16.11). Thus the need for security, the need for affection and love, is very basic for the proper growth of the child. Stott also asserts that delinquency is the means of getting attention from parents as well as the means of rebellion against them. By doing some delinquent act the child wants to teach the parents a lesson. He

wants to make them suffer. This is why harsh treatment
of the delinquent will have the opposite effect ; instead of
correcting him it reinforces delinquent behaviour. The
child desires the love and affection of the parents and he
continues the delinquent act in order to get the attention of
the parents. But this act does not get the love of the parent.
On the other hand, it provokes hostility and humiliation
in the parent. This hostility further provokes delinquent
behaviour in the child. This is a vicious circle and the only
way in which this circle can be broken is by the parent to
understand the needs of the child and to give him affec-
tion, to give him recognition and satisfy these deep-seated
normal needs rather than by harsh treatment and rejection
which only confirm the delinquent in his rebellious and
anti-social behaviour.

Problems of readjustment

Till recently popular views with regard to crime and punish-
ment were held applicable even to the problem of juvenile
delinquency. Crime or delinquency is an act which violates
the rights of persons or property. What these rights are
depends upon the particular group. But in all cultures,
at all times, in various parts of the world, the society or
the state has punished the criminal or the delinquent. In
such punishment, particularly in the olden days, there was
a great element of retribution or revenge. It is based on
the principle : " An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth ".
If a man kills another man he should himself be killed.
It is also believed that if a criminal is punished it will
deter or prevent others from committing similar acts. Even
today we find in the newspapers letters to the editor
that the corrupt politicians as well as the corrupt officials
must be given deterrent punishment. It is believed that if
one or two of them are caught and punished severely then
others will be afraid of repeating the same offences. There
is also the belief that the society can protect itself from
the menace of the delinquent or the criminal if he is locked
up in an institution. The citizens feel safe and secure if
the criminal is behind the bars. The general view among
people as well as the police is that the juvenile delinquent
is a wayward youth who is wilfully criminal. Consequent-

ly it is believed that punishment is the only way in which he can be corrected.

There are two aspects to this problem. We have to deal with the young man in such a way that he becomes a normal individual and is able to live in the group with proper adjustment and earn his livelihood. There is also the problem of prevention. What are the measures which will enable us to prevent juvenile delinquency?

In the previous sections we have seen that juvenile delinquency is essentially a social disease. We have seen that it is caused mainly by social conditions which thwart the satisfaction of basic needs of the individuals. We have also seen that these basic needs are common to the delinquents as well as the non-delinquents. There are no needs peculiar to the delinquents. The problem is that the delinquent tries to satisfy these basic needs in ways which are not approved by the group in which he lives. He has not learnt to satisfy these needs in the socially approved manner. It has also been seen that the juvenile delinquent has peculiar attitudes towards his family and the world as a' whole. He looks upon them as threats to his prestige, as people who prevent him from satisfying his needs for food, security, prestige and recognition. Thus in treating the juvenile delinquent, the most important thing is to deal with him as an individual case and study his problem. What are the situations in his life which make him feel threatened and frustrated? Unless we discover these it is not possible to recondition and rehabilitate the individual. This implies that we have to have a new outlook towards juvenile delinquency. In recent years there has been a very big change. Today we find that in the progressive communities of the world the laws with respect to the juvenile delinquent have been changed. There is a special court, with specially trained magistrates to deal with the juvenile delinquents. Delinquency is looked upon as " misbehaviour " rather than as " crime ". Remand homes are established by law to which these young offenders are sent as soon as they are caught. Trained social workers are appointed to study each case ; clinical psychologists and psychiatrists also study these individuals. The reports prepared by the trained social worker, the clinical psychologist and the psychiatrist are placed before the magistrate.

The boy as well as the parents and others connected are questioned. The magistrate does not punish the individual. He tries to find out the proper way in which the individual can be rehabilitated. Trained social workers are now appointed as probation officers who will be in charge of the case. They will contact the parents, the teachers or the employers and try to see that the situation is changed in such a way that the individual is able to readjust himself. Special schools are also started which are called reformatory schools or certified schools or approved schools with a specially trained staff where these boys are given education to help them to overcome the deficiencies in their socialization and develop the right attitudes towards themselves, towards others and towards the problems of life as a whole. According to the report of the Ministry of Education there were 171 such institutions in India in 1950 (6). In every state the Children's Act has been changed. For example, the Bombay Children's Act of 1944 required custody, control and punishment of young offenders. It also provided for the establishment of reformatory schools for them. But the revised Bombay Children's Act of 1948 provides not only for custody and control, but also for treatment and rehabilitation of the young offenders. Still we find that there is a good deal of improvement to be made in the several states of the country. In the school itself the teachers should have a different approach to these unfortunate individuals. As we have seen many of the delinquents are the victims of rejection. Consequently the teachers should become substitute parents and help the children to obtain a sense of security. Generally such schools will be well equipped for craft education. Further, quite a large percentage of the juvenile delinquents are below average in intelligence. So they will have to be given sound manual training rather than pure intellectual training. The manual training will also help them to get satisfaction out of creative activities. When the boy produces a basket or a bench, he has the satisfaction of creating something new. This sense of achievement leads to a sense of adequacy. It will also help the boy to earn a livelihood when he goes out of the school. The school must also develop a number of group activities. Such group activities will help to change the ego as well

as the superego. They must be taught to be loyal to the group and to the institution and to take pride in the achievements of the group and the institution.

The parents must also be helped to have an insight into the behaviour of the boys, and to have an insight into their own behaviour which has led to the maladjusment in the child. Our self notions depend upon what others think about us (Chapter XV). Consequently the parents as well as the brothers and sisters must be re-educated. This is as necessary as the re-education of the delinquent himself.

The public has also to develop the new attitude towards the problem of delinquency. In fact the change in the Children's Act in the several states is an indication of the change in the attitude of the public towards the problem of delinquency. There is now a change towards the reform of the criminal and his rehabilitation. There is no use in becoming angry or in becoming frightened. We must face the problems. Society as a whole should give up its fear of and anger against the criminal and the delinquent. It must adopt the problem-solving attitude so that a proper study is made of the individual as well as of the social conditions and adequate steps are taken both with respect to the treatment as well as the prevention of delinquency. It is true that in the recent years there has been a very big change on the part of the general public towards the problem of juvenile delinquency. But still a good deal remains to be done.

One of the important trends in modern civilization is the increase in population in the cities. This brings about in its train several social situations and institutions like the cinema, the market, the railway station, and overcrowded tenements. All these make the problem of the socialization of the child difficult. Consequently, vast programmes are now undertaken for slum clearance on the one hand, and for increasing recreational facilities on the other. In the city planning itself parks and recreational centres are now provided so that the children need not have to play on the streets, and form street corner gangs. Further the gangs themselves are now organized into boys clubs so that these boys play and have the recreation under supervision with proper equipment. Vast sums of money are now being spent in India as well as in other countries to develop

such recreational centres. Orphanages and destitute homes are now being started so that no child is uncared for and becomes a beggar in the streets or in the market places. But of course this is a tremendous problem. We find that even today millions of people in India have misguided notions regarding charity and whenever they see a child or an adult in distress they give him a coin, without realising that this perpetuates, instead of solving, the problem of the individual. In the advanced countries of the world the attitude towards individual charity has completely changed. In India also this change must come. We should never try to give charity directly to the person in distress, because by doing so, we will not be able to really help him. Whatever we are able to spare should be given as a contribution to the organized institutions which are running destitute homes and boys clubs and recreation centres.

Even in our schools the attitude of the teacher as well as the nature of the courses will have to be changed. The boy who is retarded in the school should not be ridiculed nor should he be forced to proceed further in the school. It is the boy who is educationally retarded that is liable to become a juvenile delinquent. His feelings of frustration and inferiority will lead him to become hostile by committing an anti-social act. Consequently in the elementary schools courses should be provided for the dull and the mentally deficient boys so that they are able to develop whatever talents they have and become well adjusted citizens. Even with respect to employment the state has to help these dull and retarded individuals to secure jobs which are within their ability so that they are able to fulfil their functions as citizens without resorting either to crime or to begging.

It must be realised that no society can ever completely eliminate crime. This is an unrealistic outlook. All that the society can plan is to reduce delinquency and crime.

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF MODERN INDUSTRY

THE MOST impressive feature of modern life is the modern industry. Technological developments in the last 200 years, particularly in the present century, have completely changed the ways of living and the ways of thinking among the peoples of the world. Western Europe changed from the feudal social organization to the modern social organization because of the industrial revolution. When the people of Europe settled down in United States they were able to develop a vast industrial economy which did not have to face any resistance from vested feudal interests like in Europe. Early in this century Russia and Japan modernised their economy. Today all the various countries in Asia, South America and Africa are trying to introduce great changes in their industry and economy so that there should be abundant wealth and a higher standard of living for every citizen and his family.

Social effects of technological change

Down the ages man has been attempting to control the forces of nature so that life becomes secure and comfortable. The innovation of agriculture in the days gone by, the innovation of methods to produce fire, brought about great changes in the way of life of the human beings. The advances in technology in recent years and particularly in the present century have been of an unprecedented magnitude. Today man has been able to banish fear of famine and epidemics practically completely. Great changes in the agricultural methods due to the application of science and technology have brought about great improvements in the production of food. When there was famine in India, particularly in Bengal State, in 1945, food was rushed from United States, Canada and Australia. The government was accused for its inefficiency. This is a great change in the attitude of people. In the olden days when floods and

famines came people accepted them with helplessness and fortitude. But today they are shocked that there should be so much of suffering. They are convinced that the suffering is due not to nature, but to the inaction of man in counteracting these disastrous effects of nature. This change has come in the modern man because of the developments in modern science and modern technology.

Side by side there is also the other problem of resistance to change. Indians, as a nation, are looked upon as conservative people who do not change quickly. Still we find that in the last few years after Independence vast changes have taken place in the country. The Five Year Plans are deliberate attempts to industrialise India so that there is increased production of goods and services. This is a very big change. People are now realising that the existence of poverty in the country is due to either inefficiency or inability to face and solve the problems. If technological improvements are made both in the production of food and of other goods, then poverty can be banished from the land. One of the basic reasons for this change in the attitude of the people as a whole is the concept of *sarvodaya* introduced by Gandhi and developed by Vinoba Bhave. Just as during the days of national independence the cry of Tilak " *swaraj* is my birth right " was accepted by every Indian in the village and city, similarly today *sarvodaya*, the welfare of all people, the banishment of poverty, is accepted.

Even though there is a change in the overall position still there are resistances to change in particular spheres of activity. We can take as an illustration the resistance of the Indian farmer to the use of artificial manure. Though India was the most highly developed agricultural country of the ancient times in the last few centuries there has been an utter stagnation in the techniques of production in agriculture. This was attributed to the ignorance and illiteracy of the Indian farmer. But recent events have shown that acceptance of change and resistance to change are due, not to knowledge and ignorance respectively, but to our attitude towards the change. When artificial fertilisers were introduced the farmers were against accepting the change. But when practical demonstrations showed that artificial manure increases very greatly the yield per acre, the Indian farmer readily accepted the change.

Five years ago when the Sindri fertilisers went into production the Government was despairing whether the stocks would be cleared from the factory. Today we are finding that the Sindri plant is unable to meet the demands for the fertilisers. It is proposed to set up a few more plants. The Indian farmer is highly pragmatic in his approach. When he knows that a change will bring about good results he accepts them.

Studies among the people living in isolated areas have shown that modern technology has very great influence upon certain basic concepts and attitudes towards the physical world. Sherman and Henry (1) studied four groups of people who were living in an isolated area about a hundred miles from Washington, the capital of United States. In Colvin Hollow, they found a scattered collection of cabins each with about two acres of garden. There were no roads. A trader brought them a few things to satisfy some of their needs. Apart from gardening the only industry that the people were engaged in was basket making. They were all illiterate people who took up unskilled jobs during summer in a summer resort four miles away. They had few and vague concepts regarding distance, length, time and such other aspects. Even adolescents did not know the days of the week, or the names of the months. They looked upon people from outside as strangers and viewed them with suspicion. Their work-habits were slow and irregular. Consequently the people in the summer resort looked upon them as " unreliable people." In Rigby Hollow conditions were far better because these people had greater contacts with the cities. These studies of 1933 among the Hollow folk showed profound contrasts in concepts and attitudes among the people with differing degrees of contacts with modern technology. It also showed that the routine of life changes when there is contact with modern technology. Finally, the study showed that there are differences in level of aspirations of the individuals. It was found that the children in Colvin Hollow could not understand the problem when they were asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up"? Such a question appeared to them to be meaningless. We find a similar thing among the children in the Indian villages and among under-privileged people in the cities. Planning an individual's career is

something typically modern and this has relationship with aspiration.

Studies have also shown that modern technology has brought about certain changes in the family organization and the interrelationship among the members of the family.

Ogburn (2) found a number of changes in the family structure as a result of the advances in technology. He found that there was a decline in the authority of the husband and father. He says that this is due to the increase in status of the women and children. In the joint family, whether it is a farming family or one of craftsmen, the father is the actual and traditional manager of the family. This was so in Europe and this is so in India. With the industrial revolution in Europe two things happened : (a) the increased mechanization took the jobs outside the home, (b) the jobs required little manual work. These two factors led to a change in woman's economic role. She was able to get employment in a factory. She was also able to get money income. This also led to a decrease in the number of children in the family. Kolb and Brunner (3) found that rural people of America advocated birth control even in the thirties. Mechanization of agriculture made the labour of children less valuable. So the rural families did not want a large number of children.

With rapid industrialisation it has been found that there are great changes in the attitude of people towards their parents, relatives and others. Dube (4) found that there were several complaints in the Indian village that the members of the castes, particularly the occupational castes, were not rendering their traditional obligations. He found that the boy does not want to work in the village. He wants to go to the city and work. He is not satisfied with the arrangement of payment. Urban contacts and education make the young man refuse to work in the families to which his family was attached through generations. The barber's son and the Harijan landless labourer's son, when they get educated, do not want to go back and pursue the traditional occupations. Similarly Lang (5) reports that in the Chinese society also the father who was once honoured is now treated with less respect and is neglected by the children who work in a modern industrial organization. She also found that the girls who worked in factories found that their status as

well as the treatment in the family had changed. They were no more submissive to parental authority according to custom. They became independent, they earned their own money and spent it. Thus, in the various countries of the world, the family organization has shown a change with the disappearance of the feudal social pattern and the introduction of the modern industrial organization. These attitudinal changes are very great with respect to expectations and aspirations. For example, the rural youth, particularly the Harijan youth, are now coming in large numbers to the liberal arts colleges, as well as to the professional colleges. The son of an illiterate landless labourer becomes a professional man. Educational opportunities are altering the attitudes of people towards their caste occupations and this is one of the greatest and most revolutionary changes that is going on in the country today. Political changes have also contributed to the situation ; because the democratic form of government needs a representative from the area, the son of a peasant or the son of a landless labourer gets elected to the State Legislature or to the Central Parliament. He may become a Deputy Minister or a Minister in a State or in the Centre. One of the most important consequences of the modern developments in technology is attitude towards change. The industrialised societies now have a very favourable attitude towards change. People are eager to try new things developed on the basis of research. In India we are seeing signs of this tendency. In the recent years the farmers are very favourable to try the new seeds which have been demonstrated to give larger yields. Similarly we are finding that as a result of the researches new varieties of gas stoves, and kerosene stoves are being introduced into the kitchen. Indian women are also using a number of gadgets in the kitchens. There is also a great readiness to make clothes out of new fabrics made of synthetic fibres. The governments as well as the industries are now developing research sections so that new products may be evolved on the basis of experimental work.

Social factors in modern industry

Till recently the management of a factory looked upon itself as being chiefly concerned with the finances, machinery,

marketing and such other aspects of industry. Today we find that the management is looking upon the factory as a social organization, as well as an economic organization. This change in outlook can be traced to the famous research work of the Mayo group in the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Co., in U.S. in 1927 (6). These researches showed the importance of the employee's attitudes and of group pressures on productivity. Five employees and the supervisors were put into a situation and made to work by varying several environmental factors like illumination, ventilation etc. Further the working hours and the number of working days were altered and rest pauses were introduced. The aim was to study the influence of these variations upon output. It was found to the astonishment of the research workers that in spite of these changes in working conditions, as well as in working hours, the output went on increasing. They found that these contradictory results were due to the fact that there was a social change in the group. The girls became a group. They were no longer isolated individuals. So the direction of alteration' of the environmental and other factors did not affect their work adversely. A detailed analysis of the wage incentives also showed that the wage by itself was not adequate to account for the changes in the output. Other attempts to investigate the effects of external conditions showed that the personal factors and the group factors were very important. These investigations showed that the management as well as the industrial psychologist have to pay attention to the following two factors :

(a) The operators as individuals with their attitudes and motives, (b) the work group as a significant factor with its own influence on the members. According to Haire, " Not only the reality of the group, but the strength of the group became apparent. The group operated quickly and effectively both to protect itself from internal violations of its own patterns and also to protect itself from outside. The group effectively restricted the output of the individual. Acting in fear of real or fancied consequences of a high production rate, the group put social pressures (ridicule, ostracism and the like) on those who exceeded the implicit group rate of production " (7.1105).

This study of a group of five girls showed that the absence

of constraint by supervisors, freedom of conversation and interpersonal contacts, group decision and such other aspects of the work appeared to be operating to give satisfaction to the workers and led to increased output. There was a certain team spirit which gave rise to satisfaction and led to steady, as well as increased, production. It was found that in the beginning there was very low intercorrelation between the output of the different individuals but as the team was built up, the intercorrelations between the individual workers rose up. This indicates that team spirit contributes not only to the higher productivity of the group as a whole, but also to the increase in output of each individual.

In another study of a group of nine wiremen, three welders and three solderers and two inspectors, it was found that the output in the group remained astonishingly constant irrespective of changes in their environment. It was found that there the group as a whole had set a target of output, and reproached the persons who worked too fast or too slow. This informal grouping, which takes place among the workers, prevents the operation of other motives to increase the work. This is one of the big impediments to the operation of wage incentives. The man who works more to earn more, is looked upon as a selfish individual, who is sacrificing the interest of the group as a whole for his own interests. Such a person will be ridiculed and shunned. He will have to yield ultimately to the group pressures.

Yet another result of this study was the importance of the supervisor as a leader. The personality of the supervisor is a very important factor to persuade people to work and to maintain discipline. In an investigation in Rowntree cocoa works (8.207) it was found that, next to the wages, the influence of the supervisor was the most important element in maintaining the level of production and in increasing contentment. We have already seen that Lippitt and White (9) have experimentally demonstrated the influence of the democratic attitude of the leader towards the followers on work. These studies have shown that there is a shift in the role of the leader from one who makes others to work, to one who enlists the co-operation of others to fulfil the task. Katz and others (10) have shown that three things stand out in the successful supervisors' role : (a) It has been found that the supervisors of high produc-

tion groups tend to spend more time on leadership functions and less time on actual production by themselves. The supervisor who works hard and produces a good amount himself will not be able to get a good output from his group as a whole ; (b) It has also been found that the successful supervisor is employee-centred rather than production centred. When the supervisor is considerate to the employees the output of the group as a whole goes up ; (c) The operators look upon the effective leader as less punitive, while the less successful leader is seen as being punitive. The man who threatens the workers with punishment induces fear. On the other hand, the leader, who succeeds in making the workers realise that any reproof flows out of the nature of the situation itself, rather than from himself, is a more successful supervisor. Consequently there is today a growing realisation of the need for giving special training to the supervisor to develop qualities of leadership. The International Labour Organization has now launched a vast scheme of what is known as T.W.I. (Training Within Industries) throughout the world.

Human relations in industry

The Hawthorne studies and a number of other studies have shown the importance of the attitude of workers towards management and the attitude of the management towards the workers. The attitudes which the workers have towards the management depend not only on the economic aspect of the situation but also on the social environment. Industrial conflict which is of great significance in modern society and which may paralyse the life of the whole country or even of the whole world, is based upon the attitudes which the management has towards the workers and the attitudes of the workers towards the management. Industrial revolution particularly in the last century in England, Germany and other Western European countries brought in its train a good deal of exploitation of the workers. The working conditions as well as the wages were the most deplorable. It is this condition which led to the campaign of Karl Mark against capitalism. Marx asserted that industrialisation by itself does not lead to plenty and prosperity but that prosperity of the workers can come only by

a class war, by the workers capturing the political power as well as the means of production from the capitalists. Today the most important problem of the world is the conflict between the ideologies of democracy on the one hand and communism on the other.

As we have seen above, the technological changes which brought about the industrial revolution resulted in thousands of labourers working in a factory. Their dissatisfaction with the working conditions, wages, and particularly the social treatment, led them to organize labour unions. In the last century there was a good deal of opposition towards the formation of labour unions. But the attitude of the society changed. Labour unions were reorganized. In India laws were passed making labour unions into legal organizations. In Western Europe and in United States and other countries of the world the spread of communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been averted by the recognition of the right of labourers to unite and strive for collective bargaining.

The general tendency is for the management to have attitudes of fear towards the labour organizations and the labour organizations to become suspicious and hostile towards the management. It is these attitudes of fear and hostility that are at the root of industrial conflict. The members of each group perceive their relation to the other differently. However, both of them are motivated essentially by the same social needs of security, self-esteem, power and so on. The employer perceives the demands of the workers for higher wages, for the " closed shop " and for the right to strike, as a threat to his own security, status and prestige. On the other hand, the workers look upon the management as a threat to their security and status. While the labour organization threatens the management with strike, the management threatens the workers with lockout, dismissal from employment and resistance to wage increase. While the worker seeks more money and prestige through increased wages, the management seeks more money and prestige from increased profits. Consequently there is the conflict between these two organizations within the industry.

The modern labourer is a joyless worker. He is engaged in monotonous tasks. Particularly in India, the labourers

come mostly from the rural areas. They are uprooted from their own social environment and have to live in miserable conditions in a strange city. In the village they have a sense of security because they are living in the midst of people who are their kinsmen and who will come to their rescue whenever they are faced with disease or poverty. But in the city they are in the midst of people who are strangers. Bonds of family and caste make the ties of kinship very strong. The labourer in the city is cut off from his joint family and is cut off from the members of his caste in the village. There is also the threat of unemployment. He has no sense of security that his job is a permanent one. Because he is an uneducated, untrained, unskilled labourer he has nothing to look forward to by way of promotion. He starts his career as an unskilled labourer and he dies as an unskilled labourer. So there is no joy for him, no hope, no aspiration. Disease and accident ever threaten him. If there is an accident, or if he falls ill, his whole family will be reduced to a state of starvation. Labour inquiry committees (11) have reported that the wages of the factory workers are not enough from the point of view of nutrition and elementary needs for housing, fuel, lights, clothing etc. Though the unskilled labourer in the factory as well as the casual labourer, today get a higher wage than about ten years ago, still, the wage is hardly sufficient to make him and his family survive. They can never hope for a decent and comfortable life. Added to this there is the big gulf between the standard of life of the workers in the factory and the standard of life of the members of the management. The supervisors also are not properly trained as leaders and so they do not have respect for the worker. This adds to the resentment and hostility.

Day in and day out the difficulties in the home, the humiliations in the work situation, the lack of joy due to an occupation that has no creative aspect whatever, all these lead the workers to be in a state of unrest. When there is a particular situation in which the management and the workers are unable to see eye to eye, there will be a strike in the factory. From this point of view the strike with all its violence and suffering is not due to some particular problem alone. It is due to a number of situations in the

life of each individual worker. The individual hostilities are all channelised into a group hostility and this makes the situation very difficult to handle. Each group exerts its pressure to enforce specific demands. The industrial strike is essentially a situation which arises out of a breakdown in understanding the mutual purposes and goals among the workers as well as the management. Both the parties start the negotiations at a wrong time in a wrong setting and so both of them become desperate and resort to either lockout or strike. The government have passed several legislations in the recent years regarding the formalities to be observed before lockout or strike is started. Otherwise the government can declare either the lockout or the strike as an illegal action. But the main problem is not one of legality, but one of willingness and a readiness to understand the view-point of the other group. It must be realised that ultimately when work stops in an industrial unit either because of the labour organization, or the management, the net result is that the management, the workers, as well as the society as a whole, have to suffer. When the plant is idle the management suffers; because the labourers are not earning, the labourers as well as their families suffer ; finally because the goods are not being produced, the society as a whole suffers because of the loss in production. Not only the people but the government also may suffer when there is a strike or lockout. Thus industrial conflict today is not merely the matter of either the management or the workers. It is a concern of the society as a whole. A strike in some essential organizations or a general strike may completely paralyse the life of the society as a whole. The strike of the Central Government employees in 1960 was declared illegal as it threatened the whole government and society. The society also did not sympathise with the strikers. So it had to be called off.

Industrial conflict is the manifestation of the social changes which are going on today. It is a reflection of the changed relationships between the workers and the owners or managers of industrial concerns. There are three clearcut elements in modern society which are responsible for the industrial conflicts : (a) The technological character of modern industry which leads to the employment of hun-

dreds and thousands of skilled as well as unskilled labourers in one organization ; (b) The growth of labour organizations ; the poor and powerless workers become very powerful when they organize themselves into a trade union. This organization is perceived as a threat by the management. It is also perceived as a source of power and aggrandizement by the authorities of the labour union. Thus the growth of labour organizations is the result of, and has induced, mutual fear, suspicion and hostility between the workers and the management ; (c) There is an increasing tendency on the part of the government to control the labour as well as the industry. Particularly in India, by means of legislation, the government have not only defined the procedures but have also laid down the conditions under which it could interfere when there is a breakdown. On some occasions the interference is welcomed by a party and on some other occasions the interference is viewed with suspicion. It cannot be said that the workers are always happy that the government is interfering. Probably the management may feel more often dissatisfied with the powers of the government to interfere.

Industrial peace

It is impossible to assert that there will be industrial peace as a permanent condition in any or all of the industrial units. Nevertheless it is true to state that under certain conditions a state of tension and conflict will exist between the workers and the management, whereas under certain other conditions this state of tension will be reduced considerably. It may not be eliminated altogether. As we have seen earlier the industrial worker is motivated in a number of ways to do his work. Wage is not the only motive force. Attitude studies among the workers have shown that they hold status and recognition and sense of security to be as important if not more important than the wage itself. It is a notorious fact that in the feudal organization, human beings were perfectly content to work for a few rupees if certain nominal facilities were provided. Even today we find that in the villages and even in the cities, children as well as adults work very willingly and with loyalty if they are given some food, shelter and clothing. If they are sure

that they will continue to get good treatment by the employer they will be perfectly contented. But with technological changes, the modern social conditions have completely altered and the labourer today is not satisfied with the feudal conditions of treatment. He wants to live in a house of his own, he wants to have all the amenities and facilities for his wife and children. He wants to be treated as an equal. He wants to be respected as a citizen. He has the same right to vote as an employer or the managing director. He wants his child to have the educational facilities so that he can compete with the children of the employer or the managing director. All these changed conditions have brought about tremendous changes in the outlook of the worker.

By law, as well as by necessity, modern industrial concerns have started a personnel department where an officer is appointed to look after the recruitment, training and discharge of workers. The managing director himself cannot now interfere in all these aspects of factory organization. The personnel department follows some rules and regulations in the recruitment of people to the factory. This reduces, if it does not altogether eliminate, personal considerations and bias in the recruitment of workers. The personnel department also interviews each recruit and tries to find out his strong points and his weak points so that he is allotted to the job best suited to him. Even when a man is discharged, when a man wants to resign and give up his job, the personnel department conducts an interview to find out the attitude of the worker towards the organization, so that it can help the management to understand the difficulties of the workers. Another very important feature of modern organization within the factory is the appointment of labour welfare officers who study the grievances of the individual workers. Utmost attention is now paid to the prompt settlement of grievances. The worker is also assured that he can take his grievances to the higher levels if he is not satisfied with the way in which his case has been handled. A strong trade union organization is also very helpful. The individual worker has now the faith that the labour organization will support him if his grievances are just. He has also got the faith that he can appeal by stages to the higher authorities in the

management to redress his legitimate grievances.

Modern industrial units are also developing " suggestion schemes ". They invite suggestions for the improvement of working conditions, as well as changes in equipment, from the workers. In the recent years several large industrial organizations in India have benefited very greatly from the suggestions from the workers. When a suggestion is adopted the worker is given a big money award. Over and above the money which the worker gets, he has now the great satisfaction that his ideas are being accepted and put into effect. This gives him a sense of prestige and satisfaction. It has been found that a successful suggestion scheme has considerably improved productivity because the workers, on the basis of their experience, are in a position to suggest ways of improving methods of production in a manner in which other people, though better qualified, are unable to do.

Establishing and maintaining contact between management and labour is a fundamental problem in labour-management relationships. In the olden days the policies of the management and the work assignments were being transmitted from top to bottom. But there was no communication from the bottom to the top. What actually the workers felt was not known to the management. It was only when a crisis came that the management started trying to meet the problem and that would be too late. Today several methods are being adopted to study and understand the attitude of the workers so that their genuine grievances are understood and remedied. An analysis of the attitudes of textile workers in some mills of Ahmedabad (12) revealed that the highest degree of dissatisfaction was felt by the workers regarding the nature of the amenities provided. This shows that the amenities provided by the management for the welfare of the family and the children are very basic to bring about contentment of the worker. No man can work with enthusiasm if his wife and children are suffering because of inadequate housing or inadequate medical facilities, if his children do not have adequate facilities for education. It is a well known fact that the industrial worker in India lives in utter poverty. His only satisfaction may be that he is better than the landless labourer in the village and the destitute who is begging in the streets in the city. It is neces-

sary for the management to plough in a part of the profits to improve amenities for the workers, as well as to improve the working conditions within the factory itself. A satisfied worker is less likely, than a frustrated and oppressed worker, to agitate for a breakdown in negotiations. It is wrong to assume that the trade union leaders set up the workmen. A satisfied workman will refuse to oblige the demands of the agitator. As we have seen earlier the agitator exploits the existing dissatisfaction among the workers for his own ends. So the aim of the management should be to reduce, if not altogether eliminate, the source of dissatisfaction in the individual workers.

It has been found that participation and consultation are of very great value to reduce industrial conflict and promote industrial peace. If each worker identifies himself with the industrial unit as a whole he will tend to be more efficient in his work and he will tend to promote social harmony. This depends upon the expectations of the management. If the management expects the cooperation and support of the workers then the workers will have the sense of participation. Allport (13) has shown that if the worker is made to feel that he is a member of the group as a whole, and is given an active role to play in it, he will have a sense of participation. Attempts are now being made to set up profit-sharing schemes as well as management-sharing schemes. Consultative committees are now set up where representatives of workers meet as equal members with the representatives of management to consider problems of policy of the unit as a whole. Several industrial units are also setting apart a few of the shares of the company for being owned by the workers of the factory so that the workers may feel that they are also owners of the industrial unit.

By way of illustration we may refer to some of the studies regarding the influence of transfer, from one section to another of the workers, or of the change in technique of production, on the production itself. It has been found that when there is a transfer of workers there is a drop in production. It has also been found that when there is a change in the technique or in the machinery there will be a drop in production. But studies have shown that this change is more due to social and psychological factors rather

than to any technical difficulties in learning. It has further been found that before the transfer or the change, if the problem is discussed in the group and if the workers understand the reality considerations then they will help the management to bring about certain changes in the nature of work, type of the work or the kind of tools or machinery and there will not be any drop in production. Workers then have the sense of participation. The decision is not now something which is forced from above but something which is necessitated by reality considerations. These perceptions have very great influence upon productivity. (See the report of the work of Coch and French given in Chapter XVII).

Another outstanding feature of modern industry is the tripartite agreement. In several industries in India, the representatives of the workers, and the management, and of the government have met together and discussed about certain industrial problems. When all the three sets of representatives are convinced that the social situation demands that the production should not be impeded and that it is necessary that there should be an increased production in the interests of national development and national security, then they enter into a tripartite agreement according to which, for a period of three or five years, each group agrees not to bring about a deadlock so that the production will not be impeded. When they have a tripartite agreement like this, any problem which brings about a difference between the management and the workers is perceived from a different angle altogether and neither the management nor the leaders will allow the problem to assume a magnitude which results in a deadlock. There is a certain readiness to come to an agreement to solve the problem. Often it is egoistic considerations regarding the prestige of the individual, or the prestige of the group which the individual is representing, which will stand in the way of realistic assessment of the situation. When there is a tripartite agreement, the realistic considerations become more dominant than other considerations. All the various groups in modern industry must endeavour to have these realistic considerations because ultimately, when there is a deadlock arising out of the frustrations, either in the management, or in the workers, the society as a whole, including the

management and the workers, will suffer.

In order to promote the proper understanding and the assessment of the situations, vast training programmes are now being undertaken. The trade unions themselves are now coming forward to give training to the trade union leaders, so that they understand the problems involved in industrial conflict. Similarly the management authorities are now trying to set up institutes of management where training will be given to the people in managerial positions. Government also is setting up programmes of training for the Labour Department officials. One of the new features is the organization of courses by the universities on trade union movements and labour-management relationships. Courses given in the universities will enable individuals to get the right attitude towards these problems. All these are signs of the realisation by the various groups concerned to regard the problem as a social problem which has to be tackled from a detached standpoint in order to promote the welfare of the group as a whole without exploiting any particular group.

We may conclude this chapter by drawing attention to some of the important problems regarding the motives of individuals and the social organization involved in modern industry. The members of an industrial plant are members of several interlocking social systems. Each system has its own pattern of rewards and punishments which may or may not coincide with the rewards and punishments that are set up by the management to motivate the workers. It is this situation which gives rise to conflict in the minds of the individuals. The same individual, because he belongs to different groups at the same time, will have to follow the appropriate social norms of the groups to which he belongs. But these may bring about a conflict in him. Let us briefly summarise the various groups to which an individual belongs.

Each worker is a part of a social structure outside the factory. He is a member of his family. He is a member of his caste and neighbourhood. Because of the pressures which arise from the family or the community of which he is a member he has to work hard and improve his prospects in the company in which he is working, so that he can provide better amenities for his family and obtain a better

prestige in the group in which he is living. Secondly, the worker is a member of the work group in the factory. He has to work with these people under the guidance of the supervisor. He may also be a member of an informal group within the factory which may or may not coincide with his immediate work group. However, the general tendency is for the informal group as well as the work group to be more or less identical. This group will exert its own pressures which may be in favour of improving his prospects or against improving his prospects. Being accepted as a member of the group gives him very great satisfaction ; studies have shown that production drives may be impeded because of the social norms of these informal groups. Thirdly, the individual is also a member of the labour union. The membership of the union brings about its own pressures and its own systems of values. It is also possible that the worker is an office bearer in the union. As a member of the union he may get a good deal of satisfaction in participating in the elections and in participating in the decisions of the labour union. He may feel that he is as important a member in the factory as the managing director himself and occasions may arise when he would like to prove to himself as well as to the group as a whole that he is a more important man than the managing director, in spite of the power, wealth and position of the latter. Finally, he is also a member of the factory which pays him his wages and directs him to do a particular job. The factory itself has a hierarchical structure. For example, the foreman or the supervisor may look upon himself more as a member of the management than of the workers group. The worker may himself feel that, while he is a very important man in the labour union, he is just an ordinary worker in the factory as a whole. Thus we find that the motives of the individuals, as well those of the different organizational systems to which the same individual belongs, will all influence the person's conduct.

Unless the management authorities as well as the labour union authorities, and the workers, the general public and the government authorities, understand these social psychological factors which are involved in the modern industry it is very difficult for them to appreciate and assess the complicated problems which will arise.

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REVOLUTION, WAR AND PEACE

Revolution

CHANGE IS a normal feature of any society except those societies which are completely isolated. Even in such isolated societies, slight changes may take place. As Malinowski writes : " In the widest sense of the term culture change is a permanent factor of human civilization which goes on everywhere and at all times. It may be noticed by factors and forces spontaneously arising within the community or which may take place during the contact of different cultures. In the first instance it takes the form of *independent evolution*, in the second it constitutes that process which in anthropology is usually called *diffusion* " (1.1). We have seen earlier that any social change meets with resistance. This may lead to social conflict. A social change implies a change in social norms. It is not easily that a society will change its norms whether the reasons for this change are due to causes which are operating from within the community, or due to contact with foreign communities. As we have seen in an earlier chapter the social norm becomes implanted in the individuals of a group from infancy through socialization processes. Consequently a change in the norm will be looked upon as a threat and will not be accepted even when many individuals of the group are convinced that these changes are very necessary for the survival of the groups. This is where we find that prejudices operate very effectively through the stereotypes and the slogans. In this chapter we shall discuss the psychological processes underlying revolution and war. Kimball Young states : " Revolutions and wars, however, are the most violent and most engrossing human struggles for power. These two forms of intergroup conflict have become the most serious problems in modern mass societies. In fact the very survival of the human race, its society, and its culture is dependent on

our solution of these long established forms of aggression "
(2.256).

1. THE MEANING OF REVOLUTION

Ordinarily we distinguish between evolution and revolu-
tion. A socio-cultural change that takes place in a gradual
way is looked upon as an evolutionary change. On the other
hand, a socio-cultural change that is sudden, drastic, and
forced, is looked upon as a revolution. In India in recent
years there have been reform movements as well as revo-
lutionary movements, the analysis of some of which will
help us to understand these concepts. Though in the
Vedic as well as in medieval times India was noted for its
distinguished intellectual women, still, till a few years ago,
Indian society did not permit the education of women.
Due to a number of reasons the members of the higher
castes in the bigger cities started getting their girls educat-
ed in their homes. About 50 years ago in a small way ele-
mentary schools for girls were started. They were not very
popular. It was thought that a girl, particularly at the
adolescent age, should not go out of the house. So
education for girls even in the advanced families stopped
with elementary education. However, in the recent years,
particularly in the Indian cities and towns, education of
girls right up to the high schools and college stage has be-
come socially approved. Co-education at the college stage
has also become approved even though we have colleges
exclusively for the girls. Still, even today the members of
the lower castes and the members of the lower classes and
village people do not send their girls to the schools for
education. This is why in 1958 the Government of India
appointed a Commission to find out the reasons for the
slow progress and suggest ways and means for improving
programmes for women's education in the cities as well as
in the rural areas. This change that has been going on in
India with respect to women's education may be looked
upon either as revolutionary or evolutionary. The man
in a village, who makes up his mind to send his daughter
to a middle school in the neighbouring town, may be look-
ed upon by the people of the village as a revolutionary, be-
cause he is acting against the social norms. But gradually
other people of the village may also send their children to

the neighbouring town. Then the change becomes evolutionary and the group as a whole accepts a new social norm, so that a little later, as in the city today, if a man does not send his daughter to a high school or a college, the neighbours will start talking that he has got a grown up girl in his house who is neither married nor getting herself educated. In the same way, when bills were introduced in the parliament to raise the age of marriage of girls, there was a big discussion in the press, as well as on the public platform. People who introduced such bills were called revolutionaries who were completely undermining the existing social norms and the existing social order. Still laws were passed and there have been great changes in social practices. Social legislation itself is a form of bringing about a social change by making it penal for the individual who continues to follow the old social norms in the face of new legislations.

The term revolution has been used to indicate different kinds of social changes. Generally the term is used to indicate a sudden change in the locus of sovereignty. When the Bolshevik party came into power in Russia, or the Nazi party came into power in Germany, or when Naguib, and later when Nasser, came into power in Egypt, when Iskander Mirza, and later Ayub, came into power in Pakistan, these political changes were looked upon as revolutions. In all these cases groups of individuals, under the leadership of a very determined man, captured the political power, by controlling the military power, and by dissolving the constitutionally elected parliaments and their cabinets, and by setting aside the constitution itself. The term revolution is also used when there is an abrupt cultural change which pervades various areas of the social organization like, for instance, the Protestant revolution in Europe. In India Raja Ram Mohan Roy initiated a tremendous social revolution by supporting the British Government to introduce the Western system of education with English as the medium of instruction and by abolishing the social evil, *sati*. Similarly, we can look upon the work of Swami Vivekananda, Annie Besant, and Dayananda Saraswathi, as very revolutionary, because by their writings and speeches, and by the social institutions which they started, they were able to bring about great changes in the attitude of people towards the Vedas, the Upanishads, as well as towards Indian and

Western institutions. In the more recent times Mahatma Gandhi, as well as Vinoba Bhave, have been revolutionaries in their outlook and were able to bring about very great changes in Indian society. But all these changes including the Indian struggle for Independence have all taken place in a non-violent manner. Tremendous social, economic, and political changes have taken place in India without war and bloodshed. We may take as another illustration the way in which Sardar Patel was able to bring about the dissolution of more than 500 Indian States which were ruled by maharajas or rajas and nawabs and integrate the whole country under one sovereignty. In other countries of the world, at any time and in our country at the earlier times, changes like this could have been brought about only by a number of wars, over a number of years, involving tremendous loss of life. Similarly, another big and revolutionary change took place in the country with the abolition of the zamindari system, and making all the land owners pay the taxes directly to the government. These changes, in the transfer of government from foreign to Indian hands, the transfer of political and economic power from rajas, and maharajas, and the zamindars, to the State Governments, are really very revolutionary. But still these changes have taken place in a very orderly way through negotiations and through legislation. Thus the history of our land in the recent years has shown that when the attitudes of people are gradually transformed, and when there is a readiness of people to change, and when the dominant groups or authorities themselves realise that a change is inevitable, that a change is necessary, social change of a tremendous magnitude can occur in the most peaceful and orderly fashion.

From the above discussion it is very clear that any revolution can take place only where there is a profound alteration in the beliefs and attitudes of the people. Still when the change actually comes it is sudden. Particularly the transfer of power from one group of individuals to another group of individuals, who are radically different in their beliefs and attitudes, and consequently, who bring about vast changes in several areas of social, cultural, economic and political patterns of living, appears to be both sudden and drastic. Particularly there is one event or one set of

events in a specified time which marks the beginning of the new order. Hence it looks as if the whole change started at that particular time even though the previous history of the group reveals the changes in the beliefs and attitudes. Further, a revolution, whether it is directly socio-cultural, or directly economic, will ultimately bring about a change in political power. Similarly direct change in political power will later bring about many changes in social and economic conditions. For example, the American Revolution aimed at capturing the power from the British Parliament and the King, so that the sovereignty rested with the people themselves. In the French Revolution, the French monarchy was eliminated and there was a shift in the power from the aristocratic to the middle classes. Similarly in the Russian Revolution the monarchy was eliminated and the power was seized by the representatives of the workers. Though in each of these revolutions the shift in the political power marked the change, ultimately it led to great changes in social institutions as well as in social organizations. The same is true of the recent revolutions in Egypt, Pakistan and other countries. In India profound changes have taken place with the shift in the political power from the British to the Indian people. The dominant groups of pre-Independence lost their hold on the social as well as political spheres. Because of the introduction of adult franchise and democratic forms of government new groups in the Indian community have come into power. The same thing happens when there is a social and economic revolution. The non-Brahmin movement in several states in South India was essentially social. But because of these movements there is a change in the political leadership as well. Members of the non-Brahmin groups have now obtained political power in the various states. It may be asserted that the shift in the political power, from one community to another community, is also due to a revolutionary change in attitude towards education. Special educational facilities for the non-Brahmin communities changed their attitude towards social and economic problems. In the last quarter of a century vast numbers of children from the non-Brahmin communities have taken up to school and college education and this has also brought about a change in the political power. Similarly, due to the Harijan movement started by

Gandhi, tremendous educational facilities are now being provided for the Harijans and members of the scheduled tribes. This has also led to a profound change in the political sphere. The members of the scheduled castes, and scheduled tribes, have become very powerful politically, though 30 to 40 years back, they were absolutely in the background politically as well as socially. Similarly, economic changes bring about social as well as political changes. Industrial revolution completely upset the feudal system and the members of the aristocratic groups in Europe went into the background. The communist governments in Russia, China and other countries are now trying to bring about vast changes in social and economic organizations by capturing the political power on behalf of the economically underprivileged groups. Thus, we find that revolutionary changes bring about ultimately shifts in political power from one sector of the society to another sector of the society.

Normally, revolution is associated with violence. Particularly the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution involved violence on a large scale, but violence is not necessarily a part of revolution. The Nazi revolution, for example, involved very little violence because of the capture of the military power. Similarly, in Egypt as well as in Pakistan because the military leaders themselves took over the power, there was hardly any violence at all. We have already seen that in India tremendous changes have taken place in the political as well as in social and economic spheres in a *non-violent* way.

We may accept the definition of the term revolution given by Kimball Young (2.314) with some modifications. Revolution, then, is a more or less sudden social change, usually accomplished by an overthrow of the existing political order, leading to the establishment of new forms of social and legal control; the existing political order may be overthrown with violence, or without violence as when the government is taken over with the help of the army, or in a 'non-violent' way through consent and without a trail of bitterness (*ahimsa*).

2. FACTORS LEADING TO REVOLUTION

Several attempts have been made in the recent years to study the factors which bring about revolutions. Long

34

ago Lebon associated revolution with mob behaviour. According to Lebon people of the lower classes are gripped by uncontrollable impulses and they revolt against authority. According to the Freudian thinkers, there are several unconscious factors which lead to a revolution. The unconscious desire to destroy authority which is the symbol of an all powerful father is looked upon as a very basic fact. Others look upon revolution as something which stems from intolerable economic or social injustices. There are also some writers who look upon revolution as a pathological phenomenon. For example Hunter (3) believed that most revolutions are engineered by evil men who take advantage of social and economic disturbances in a country.

We have already seen that no social phenomenon can be explained by resorting to analysis involving single and simple elements. A revolution can take place only when there are a number of factors which are operating in the minds of vast numbers of people in a group. This is the reason why several times determined efforts by a minority to bring about a revolution will fail. For example, the 1905 revolution in Russia failed. It was only in 1917 that the Russian Revolution was a success. It is true that both these attempts were based on the same factors which were operating in Russia. But it must also be recognized that unless vast numbers of people have become thoroughly dissatisfied with the conditions in a society revolution cannot succeed. We find that psychological factors play a very important part in bringing about revolutions whether they are successful or unsuccessful. Of course, this is not to undermine the economic, social and political factors underlying revolutions. But economic as well as political factors can operate only by changing the beliefs and attitudes of individual human beings.

The prevailing social institutions may not serve the needs of the group as a whole. It is at such times that there are revolutionary movements. When large numbers of people in a state feel that the conditions under which they are living are unsatisfactory then the ground is ready for a revolutionary movement to start. Because of the rise of new problems, new modes of living, the old social institutions may be unable to make the necessary readjustments. For example, in the fight for national independence, Gandhi

found that it was necessary to get the masses of the country involved. The Indian National Congress which was earlier confined to the intellectual classes was converted by Gandhi to be the mouth-piece of the aspirations of the masses of the people. This, no doubt, strengthened the Indian National Congress. But it also brought about a number of changes in the social organization. The people in the rural areas, who were for thousands of years leading practically an isolated life, untouched by the cataclysmic changes that were going on in the attempts to set up empires, were now awakened by Gandhi and drawn into the fight for independence. When actually independence came adult franchise was an inevitable step and because 80% of our population are living in the villages the representation of the village people became a new factor in the social, economic, as well as political field. The same reasons have been responsible for the uplift of millions of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who form nearly 25% of the population. These under-privileged groups have now emerged as very powerful influences in the social as well as political spheres. Thus, there were three revolutions going on at the same time. There was a revolution against foreign power which was controlling the political life ; there was also an internal revolution where the backward castes and the scheduled castes came into power in the national life because of these new conditions ; finally there was a shift in the locus of power from the people of the urban areas to the people of the rural areas. As we have noted earlier these revolutions though of far-reaching significance have been accomplished without violence or bloodshed because of the insistence of Gandhi on the twin principles of truth and non-violence.

In other countries of the world when large masses of people were discontented with the prevailing social order, there was a resistance on the part of the dominant groups to accept the changes. It is this resistance which led to the violent overthrow of the dominant groups, as in France and Russia.

Revolutions arise when there is a repression of the fundamental desires of large numbers of people in the state. But it must be realised that mere repression by itself will not necessarily produce a revolution. For example, in

India the backward castes accepted their position of poverty, illiteracy, and the other conditions of living without revolting. For thousands of years the scheduled castes accepted the institution of untouchability. So long as they accepted these conditions there was no revolution possible. It was only when these castes became aware of their fundamental disabilities, that they resented the social, economic and political structure in the country. Thus, mere existence of disabilities by itself will not lead to revolution. The majority of the Indians, who are poverty stricken, accepted that the rajas, and maharajas can live in luxury. They accepted that the British officers can live in luxury. So long as this acceptance was there, no agitation was possible. The agitator and the revolutionary thinker can succeed in moving the masses only when the suffering masses themselves realise and become conscious of their suffering. It is at that time that the agitator can step in and give a shape to the aspirations of the people. We may take as an illustration, the extraordinary political conditions in the Kerala State since Independence. The people were not satisfied with the role of the democratic parties like the Congress or the Praja Socialist Party. Consequently President's rule was introduced as no political party had the necessary strength to form the government. In the 1957 elections the verdict of the electorate was again not in favour of any single political party to get a majority. So no party by itself could form the government. The communist party, in coalition with five independents, was able to form the government with a majority of two in the legislature. Because the communist party had programmes of drastic social and economic changes, it introduced a number of legislations to bring about such changes. People were afraid of these drastic changes. All the opposition parties put together were unable, in the ordinary democratic procedure, to unseat the government. This led to a wide sense of frustration among the opposing political groups. The people became insecure because of the drastic social and economic changes based on the proposed legislations. It is these causes which led to a mass movement demanding resignation of the communist government and the intervention of the Central Government. As Edwards (4.30) puts it; " People come to feel that their legitimate aspira-

tions and ideals are being repressed or perverted, that their entire proper desires and ambitions are being hindered and thwarted ". Revolutions arise under such conditions of widespread discontentment among the large majority of the people of various classes in the society.

3. THE ROLE OF LEADERS

It is true that leaders play a very important part in shaping revolutions. But it is not true to say that mere leadership by itself can bring about a revolution. Unless, as we have already noticed, large numbers of the people become aware of their disabilities, become discontented with their lot, the agitator by himself can do nothing. At any time, in any society, there will always be agitators, but revolutions come only under certain conditions in a country. The agitator can exploit the discontentment among the masses. But he cannot create the sense of discontentment. Generally it is the dominant group itself which creates conditions that enable the agitators to channelise the discontentment among the masses. For example, the 1857 revolution was due to the historical conditions created by the Doctrine of Lapse and such other legislations. Though right from 1757 several Indian princes were actually aware of the fact that the British would build up an empire in the east by capturing the political power in India, still the masses were not alive to the situation. The masses were used to foreigners occupying the throne in Delhi and in other kingdoms of the land. So, for them, neither the religion of the ruler, nor the colour of the skin of the ruler, was an important consequence. It was only when there was a good deal of discontentment among the Indian sepoys because of certain regulations in the army that the agitators among the Indian princes were able to create conditions favourable for the 1857 rebellion. In the same way it was because the Indian leaders were frustrated at the end of the first great war when the British did not bring about any measures to increase the participation of Indians in the government of India, and it was because of the Jalianwala Bagh incident which upset the masses of the people throughout the country, and it was because of the Khilafat movement which roused the Muslim masses that Islam was in danger because the Caliph was removed, that the Indian

National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi was able to launch a nation-wide mass movement in 1920. Thus, the leaders undoubtedly play a very important part in channelising the sense of insecurity among the masses, but they cannot bring about a sense of insecurity by mere techniques of propaganda. It is also true that unquestionably maladjusted individuals rise to power in revolutions. Bluemel (5) draws attention to the common personality traits of revolutionaries such as Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini. All of them possessed rebellious and revengeful tendencies which fitted with the temper of the masses in those countries. Through techniques of propaganda they were able to keep up the restlessness in the group and directed this restlesssness against the other countries of the world whom the people looked upon as their enemies. To give another illustration, the discontentment and rebelliousness which swept China and led to the Taiping rebellion of 1815, put in power a religious fanatic and a paranoid who claimed to represent God. It is also true that revolutionary activities do not originate in the minds of timid non-conformists. It is only the agitators with the ability to channelise the discontentment and the anger of the masses of people that become revolutionary leaders. But this is not a necessary condition. Gandhi was a very successful revolutionary leader but he never exploited the discontentment and anger of the people to rebel against the British authority. He was able to develop the technique of *satyagraha* in order to make the people realise as well as resent the injustices and express this resentment in a non-violent fashion.

Several types of leaders are necessary in order to shape and bring about a revolution. But it must be realised that no leader by himself can bring about a revolution unless there is a great amount of discontentment felt among large masses of people. In 18th century France, the rise of the middle classes who were perceived by the aristocracy as a threat to their supremacy, was responsible for the French Revolution. In the 19th century several revolutions, most of them unsuccessful, took place in Europe because of the rise of the city workers and the factory workers. The conditions of utter poverty of the factory workers and their degradation led to a great deal of resentment in England,

not only among the workers, but also among the enlightened intellectual people. Because these intellectual people strongly criticised the conditions of the labourers, several labour legislations were passed in England and a revolution was averted. In the 20th century the threat of revolution because of the discontentment of the industrial labour is not great because of the realisation of the society as a whole for the need to recognise and promote the principles of trade union formation and collective bargaining. This is why the revolution of the working classes, as envisaged by Karl Marx, did not take place in the highly industrialised countries of Western Europe and America. On the other hand, the communist revolution took place in Russia, because of a series of military failures and the unthinking luxury among the members of the royal family and aristocracy. In China, in the earlier years, communism flourished, not so much in the industrial areas, as in the densely populated agrarian regions. Similarly, in India, it is in the thickly populated agricultural regions of Kerala and Bengal that the communist party is strong. The agricultural communities are eager for owning the land. There is " land hunger ". Unjust zamindari laws and tenancy laws and absentee landlordism have all added to the discontentment among the tenants, as well as the landless labourers. Added to this discontentment regarding rights of ownership there is also in India, the anxiety on the part of agriculturists, due to the failure of monsoons or conversely due to floods in the rivers. This is why from times immemorial, the Indian people speak of *ativrishti-anavrishti*. We can hear this proverb throughout the length and breadth of the land. Thirdly, agriculture has not been a paying proposition except when the cultivators resort to the raising of cash crops like tobacco, jute etc. Due to all these conditions we find that the agricultural people who form 80% of the Indian population are on the verge of starvation and they are feeling that they are being exploited by the landlords who live in the cities. Caste system has also been responsible for making the Harijans and other groups feel that they are discriminated against in their living conditions in the villages, though the Indian Constitution grants them equal rights. All these circumstances have led to very-near conditions of revolution in certain parts

of the country like in the Andhra State, the Kerala State and West Bengal State. However, the political as well as the intellectual leaders are alive to this problem and so legislators are introducing reforms in tenancy, as well as in other aspects of agricultural laws. This is how the owners of the land are made to realise the changed conditions ; and in many parts of the country in recent years the city dwellers who own the land are selling the lands to the people of the villages. It is in this way, because of the recognition of the problem by the intellectual, as well as political leaders on the one hand, and the acceptance of the changed conditions by the owners of the land on the other, we find that revolutionary changes are taking place with respect to land ownership without giving rise to any peasant revolt or rebellion.

Thus, the intellectual leaders may avert the revolution by making the community as a whole become conscious of the frustrations as well as the aspirations of the people who are feeling oppressed, so that the necessary changes are made.

Psychological aspects of war

1. INTRODUCTORY

In this section we can try to understand the psychological factors underlying war. It must be realised at the outset, that war is not a single problem nor a simple problem. Long ago Socrates spoke about the origin of war. He showed that the people "will not be satisfied with the simpler way of life. They will be for adding sofas and tables and other furniture....We must go beyond the necessaries of which I was at first speaking, such as houses and clothes and shoes....Then we must enlarge our borders ; for the original healthy state is no longer sufficient.. And the country which was enough to support the original inhabitants will be too small now, and not enough....Then a slice of our neighbours' land will be wanted by us for pasture and tillage, and they will want a slice of ours, if, like ourselves, they exceed the limit of necessity, and give themselves up to the unlimited accumulation of wealth" (6.65-6). Socrates showed that the economic factor is very important. Because of the desire for luxuries the

state will have to expand. This leads to war with the neighbouring countries. Historians have showed that many wars have also been fought on account of prestige. In 1959 the Chinese attacked the borders of India in the Himalayas, not because this land is fertile and will help them to keep more Chinese in greater luxury, but because they wanted to teach India a lesson and to establish their superiority. Many motives are responsible for warlike behaviour. Consequently we should not try to explain this behaviour from any single cause. Further it must be borne in mind that the psychological factors cannot explain the entire problem. War is a social institution with its roots in many social structures of the past. These traditions influence our attitudes towards war and peace.

It is generally believed that war is inevitable. In the not distant past, and even today in some groups, war is looked upon as a 'divine institution'. Not only the primitive groups, even the modern groups, offer their prayers to God to help them to win the war. There is also the notion that war is universal. There have always been wars. Mythologies as well as histories of many lands show that many, many wars have been fought. So it is presumed that there will always be wars. But in the recent decades anthropologists have discovered some groups of people to whom war is unknown. It is also assumed that wars are inevitable because ' human nature ' is unchangeable (7.16—7). But as far back as 260 B. C. Ashoka spoke about his horror and remorse involved in the Kalinga War. A hundred thousand people were killed and another hundred and fifty thousand were made captives. An edict of Ashoka says, " Directly after the annexation of the Kalingas, began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety, his love of that Law and his inculcation of that Law (*dharma*). Thus arose His Sacred Majesty's remorse for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and captivity of the people. That is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Sacred Majesty ". These utterances of Ashoka have had a profound influence on the people, not only of India, but of Asia as a whole. True, there have been many wars in India since the days of Ashoka, but the belief has also been there that war is not inevitable and that human na-

ture is changeable.   However, as Himmelweit puts it :
" One of the strange aspects of human behaviour is the rela-
tive readiness of man to accept the belief that war is inevi-
table and to become, in times of war, an active member of a
belligerent force " (8.161).   Our problem then is to find out
why man is ready to believe that war is inevitable. Why does
warlike behaviour persist among human beings? It is well-
known that the Second World War came to an end because
of the use of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki of
Japan.   In a few minutes tens of thousands of people were
killed and miles of land were made desolate.   Even more
powerful hydrogen bombs and cobalt bombs have since been
manufactured.   Still warlike preparations are going on in
the world.   It is possible that in a few more years even the
smaller powers of the world will have their atom bombs.
This may mean that even a small war anywhere may lead
to devastation of vast areas of the world.

2. BIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF WAR

A survey of the history of mankind shows that it is more
or less an unbroken chronicle of strife and killing.   People
in all lands have fought one another for all kinds of rea-
sons.   There have been mighty and indefensible wars in
the name of religion, revenge, for survival, for freedom,
for food, for land, for glory.   There have been tribal wars,
national wars and world wars.   Technological progresses
have made wars more terrible and more devastating.   Vast
sums of money are being spent by U.S.S.R. as well as U.S.A.
to improve the speed and efficiency of the tools of destruc-
tion.   The conquest of outer space is only a preparation to
annihilate the enemy country in space with speed and
efficiency.

Alix Strachey writes, " In view of all this, it begins to
look as if the necessity to fight was something indigenous
to man — something ineradicably implanted in the human
mind ; and the attempt to end war threatens to be a hope-
less task " (9.13).   Ordinary people as well as social scient-
ists of repute have looked upon war as being a biological
need which can never be eliminated.   Some of these views
may now be examined.

The older sociologists assumed that there was an analogy
between international conflict and biological struggle.   Just

as in the biological struggle the fittest survive, similarly in the international conflicts the best nations will survive. Therefore war was looked upon as 'necessary' for human progress. But this 19th century outlook has been abandoned today. With the abandonment of colonialism, a new outlook is now emerging among the Western powers. They are now interested in the progress of the 'underdeveloped' countries of Asia and Africa. We may, for example, refer to the 'Colombo Plan' which aims at the mutual help between the economically more advanced and the economically backward countries. Similarly the institutions like International Monetary Fund and World Bank are rendering great service to many countries in the world. The American Marshall Plan helped not only the allied countries, but also Germany, Italy and other 'enemy' countries to rebuild their economies. Similarly, United States helped Japan to become again a prosperous land. Thus we find that this biological concept of struggle for existence does not help us to understand wars between nations.

Yet another biological interpretation of war is in terms of the fighting instinct. It must be stated that hardly any thinker today explains war in terms of the instinct of pugnacity. However, since this view was held by some, several decades ago, popular thinking even today is influenced by this outlook. Long ago William James (10) asserted that we inherit the warlike type. Since, at that time, it was believed that tribal groups were always at war with one another, it was assumed that in the struggle for existence only those tribes which were pugnacious must have survived and those which were not warlike could not survive. As a consequence, all the human beings now alive are the descendents of the more pugnacious ancestors. Similarly, Wells asserted that ascribing fighting to an instinct of pugnacity implies, not that man 'fights because he fights', but that man has inherited a nervous system responsive to warlike conditions (11). Apart from the historical evidence of constant wars reference may also be made to the war games of children and the fights between street-corner gangs. The statement of an otherwise eminent writer, Barbara Ward may be quoted here to show the way in which people are impressed by these old views: "If you do not think that this instinct is deeply rooted, I would

implore you to observe any child between the ages of six months and four years, and see the absolute determination with which it pursues its own desires. Those bashings of the nursery floor are the first early signs of the instinct we carry right on into the organization of our adult society—the instinct to have our own way with the things we want. Organized at the state level with the passion of nationalism behind it—and possibly of ideology as well—we have not a rational institution but a battering ram of disorderly drives " (12.117). Further people are very fond of witnessing wrestling, boxing and such other games of 'valour'. Even today attempts are made by the members of one faction in the village to kill the members of the other faction. These and other such observations have led people to assert that human beings are born with a tendency to fight and that it is only by training that they can lead an orderly and peaceful life. Consequently war is looked upon as inevitable and inescapable.

Freud has postulated an unconscious force within the individual which makes him welcome war. According to Freud, frustrations lead to pent-up aggression which seeks an outlet that is socially approved and becomes acceptable to the ego (13). Himmelweit writes : " Greatly oversimplified, there appear to be three main conditions producing frustration : (a) external obstacles set up by an unfavourable environment, which prevent the individual from reaching his goal ; (b) internal obstacles, set up by man's superego which prevents free expression of drives unacceptable to it ; (c) the simultaneous activation of two mutually exclusive drives where the satisfaction of one precludes immediate gratification of the other " (8.161). Every individual experiences frustration. Particularly the very act of socialization leads to frustrations. These frustrations lead to aggressiveness. But there are external obstacles to the expression of aggressiveness. Consequently aggressiveness is pent-up. It obtains a release when there is an attack on a minority community within the nation or of another nation outside. Dollard, Doob and their colleagues developed this notion of Freud by assuming " that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. More specifically the proposition is that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration, and con-

trariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression " (14).

Later on Freud postulated the Thanatos, the death instinct or the destructive instinct (15). This impulse to destroy stands in direct opposition to Eros, the impulse of love and of life. " An important derivative of the death instinct is the *aggressive* drive. Aggressiveness is self-destruction turned outward against substitute objects. A person fights with other people and is destructive because his death wish is blocked by the forces of the life instincts and by other obstacles in his personality which counteract the death instincts " (16.40).

The point at issue is whether there is evidence to postulate a fighting instinct or an instinct to destroy, whether aggressiveness is instinctive, whether the readiness of people to accept the idea that war is inevitable and the readiness of the people to become active members of a belligerent force is due to a fighting instinct or pent-up aggressiveness or due to the aggressive drive that is a part of the death instinct. There is no dispute about the behaviour of people in the war situation. The point in dispute is whether such behaviour can be explained only by postulating a fighting instinct, an aggressive drive. We have seen in an earlier chapter that drives can be classified into primary and secondary drives. The primary drives like hunger, thirst and sex have a physiological basis. We have now to consider whether the fighting instinct has a comparable physiological basis. If there is a physiological basis then the behaviour should be periodic, in response to certain changes taking place in the body. Cannon's work has shown that there are close parallels between the behaviour of men in war and the behaviour of animals under conditions exciting rage, pain and fear (17). According to Cannon the emotions represent increased and repeated efforts of the organism to make effective adjustments in the moments of crises. The pattern of physiological changes which accompany emotions like fear and rage mobilize the resources of the organism for quicker, stronger and more effective physical response. It is on this basis that Cannon developed his ' emergency theory of emotions ' stressing the evolutionary development of emotional behaviour in terms of its functional utility. It is true that rage and hostility beha-

viour is aroused when there is opposition to the organism which is seeking some goal. But neither the researches of Cannon nor common observation reveal that animals periodically seek situations to express rage. This is the essential difference between the physiological drives and rage or aggressiveness. Further, emotions have utility to animals in making effective adjustments to crises. But we cannot say that emotions of rage and fear have similar adaptive usefulness in the life of modern man in whom the brute struggle for survival is so overlaid with socio-cultural influences.

We have already seen that the modes of expression of secondary drives are determined by experience and training although their motivation may be rooted in bodily states. Secondary drives may originate when the individual attempts to satisfy the tissue needs of hunger, thirst, sex, pain, equitable temperature etc. Conflict, fighting and war may be motivated by hunger or even sex, like the Trojan wars motivated by Helen, or the Mogul wars by Padmini. But we do not have any evidence either in the' behaviour of animals or children or organized groups of human beings to postulate an instinct of aggressiveness. Fighting, like the other secondary drives, is learnt behaviour.

Further, warfare is a complicated social institution based on many drives and based on a good deal of training. Political leaders may seek conflict with other nations to retain their power. Even in mid-twentieth century after two terrible world wars we find that political leaders in several countries are making use of threats of war or actual war to continue in power. Similarly ambitious military leaders may be willing to help the political leaders in starting wars for their own ends. They may have developed their notions of strategy which they want to test on the battlefield. Economic gain, not only among the armament manufacturers, industrialists and contractors, but also among the people as a whole may be an important motive. War brings suffering, but war also brings full employment and increased production. Idealism also plays its part; many young men and women on the battlefronts as well as in the civilian posts are fired by patriotism, freedom, democracy and such other noble ideals. There may be some who are eager for a war so that they can kill and

destroy with freedom and social approval and earn social recognition. Thus, it is very difficult to sustain the notion that man is impelled to fight instinctively. We have no evidence that action-patterns of killing are transmitted. Even the wild animals kill, not out of pugnacity, but out of hunger.

Our discussion so far shows that fighting depends not only upon many drives but also upon the social conditions. In feudal societies children were brought up with the ideal that killing or being killed is preferable to loss of honour. The so called 'martial-races' of India like the Sikhs, Rajputs and so on were given special opportunities for recruitment and training by the British before Indian Independence. Even today we find among several rural people there is this tradition of killing people who insult them or dishonour them. Thus in the history of man fighting and war-like behaviour have been fostered by setting up social norms. A man who refuses to fight and is ready to put up with physical suffering instead of overcoming the opponent by violence or by yielding and surrendering to physical force, was looked upon as a coward till the recent years when Gandhi preached and practised non-violent resistance. Thus, the social norms play a very important role in promoting or inhibiting fighting behaviour. Also social conditions like imperialism, religious intolerance and such other conditions served to promote wars historically. Today any imperialistic war is looked upon as naked aggression and world opinion denounces it and the UNO may discuss the problem and take action against the aggressor. Similarly world public opinion is against war on the grounds of religious differences. Thus, neither fighting, nor war are due to any basic bodily needs, though they may be based on bodily needs. It is the social norm and training that bring about this behaviour. This implies that just as man learns to fight, he can also learn not to fight.

3. SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF WAR

The actual behaviour of the people belonging to a nation that has declared war is conditioned by several factors right through the life of each individual. Thus an understanding of the behaviour of people before the war is declared

and after the war is declared will help us interpret the war-like behaviour of people. The various mass media will focus the attention of people to the problems confronting the nation. Day after day people will be reading in the newspapers and hearing over the radio the dispute between their country and the other country. 'White papers' may be released giving the correspondence between the two governments. Speeches will be made in the parliament and outside denouncing the 'brutal' or 'ignoble' behaviour of the other country. Then there will be rumours regarding the declaration of war and the preparation for war. People will congregate in different places and discuss the possibilities of the declaration of war. People may fervently hope that war is not declared and somehow the dispute with the other country is satisfactorily settled. Right up to the last moment Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Britain, was making attempts to avert the Second World War. When the people are in the height of suspense war may be declared. This transforms the attitude of the citizens towards war. Every citizen identifies himself with the country. There are shouts of joy when the Prime Minister goes about the city. People cheer him and give him full backing. The whole nation is unified. There is a similar behaviour when the announcement of armistice is made. Whether the country is victorious or defeated the people receive the news of the cessation of war with joy. Bird writes : " The suddenness with which many people change from wanting peace to supporting war has been cited as evidence that the primitive impulses merely need opportunity for expression, but the wild enthusiasm of a greater number of people following the announcement of an armistice has not been interpreted as betraying pacifistic instincts. Both types of emotional display appear to have more satisfactory explanations " (18.515). Bird proceeds to explain this behaviour on the basis of various antecedent conditions. There are various conditions that affect the attitude of each person toward the war. We may now briefly review some of these conditions and experiences that shape the attitude.

In every country children are trained to love their country and the national heroes. In several countries youth are trained to speak highly of their own greatness as a nation.

Even in India, besides the army schools and colleges, where the cadets are trained, we have the A.C.C., and N.C.C., in the high schools and colleges. In every school there will be the pictures of the national heroes and there will be the salutation to the flag. Sweets will be distributed to children on days which are celebrated as national festivals. All these techniques help to build up attitudes of patriotism and identification with the country. Similarly ' flag ' days will be celebrated to collect money for the military personnel. Marching of soldiers with fine uniforms and bands have a strong emotional appeal to children. War games may be played by the children. Particularly when the country is at war, children will wear service clothes and play with toy drums and toy guns. Finally children as well as adults are trained to obey the king or president and prime minister right through the peace time. All these experiences will build up attitudes favourable to patriotism, honour of the flag and a certain martial spirit ; they also engender immediate and implicit obedience.

The stories told to the children as well as the history books will build up attitudes favourable to war. There has been a great change in the recent years. The UNESCO has now undertaken a scheme to get the history books written in such a way that children look with respect and love upon heroes of their own country as well as the heroes of the neighbouring countries. But these efforts have to be intensified before a genuine change can come. However, the actual experiences during the two world wars make it difficult to glorify war. Attacks under fire of machine guns, air warfare and atomic warfare do not help to foster Homeric and Rajput concepts of war. Modern warfare does not depend on strength or courage. It depends more on equipment and skill. Martial attitudes in the recent years are not built up around adventure, courage and strength but on patriotism, liberty and other ideals.

Apart from these childhood experiences which help to build up favourable attitudes towards war there are also certain adult experiences which are favourable towards war. To quote Bird again : " What is not usually recognized is that conditions of peace often seem less attractive to some men than their concepts of war. The point is not that men like war, but rather that men dislike many of the circum-
35

stances of peace " (18.524). For some, peace is often drab and emotionally empty. In peacetime violent expressions of aggressiveness are disapproved or punished. War provides an outlet for aggressiveness. Cruelty towards the enemy and bullying the men in ranks are approved behaviour. More than this war is also a release from economic insecurity. The unemployed people secure jobs, there is money and comfort for many who in peacetime live in poverty and discomfort. War may be cruel and brutal ; but it is not purposeless. According to Carr : " War is at the present time the most purposeful of our social institutions ; and we shall make no progress towards its elimination until we recognize, and provide for, the essential social function which it performs. If we are to find a substitute for war, we must be clear about the function of war in our time " (19.113). In the advanced countries of the world the main problem is not insufficiency of wealth but the maldistribution of wealth. Large scale war provides an effective antidote to unemployment and inequality. Carr quotes the following from a leading article in *The Times* of London during 1940 in the midst of World War II. " Save when immediate tragedy comes their way, an enormous number of ordinary peaceable citizens are personally, at this time of horror and trial, extraordinarily happy. There is work to be done now in this Island by them " (19.115). There is today association between war and full employment. There is also a fear that after the war there may be a return to unemployment. Thus, it is not only the military generals and armament manufacturers that have favourable attitudes towards war, the common men look upon war-time as a time of secure and profitable employment. " Apart from the emotional excitement associated with war it provides a sense of meaning and purpose widely felt to be lacking in modern life. Hence, war has become the most powerful known instrument of social solidarity. In the advanced countries of the world, war or preparation for war is today the only moral purpose with the recognized capacity of inspiring the degree of self-sacrifice in all classes of the community necessary to keep the political and economic machine in motion " (19.115).

Similarly, when there is internal trouble the political leaders raise a bogey of attack by the enemy country in

order to unify the people and channelise the aggressiveness towards another direction. In this sense both the ideologies of 'communism' and 'capitalism' have been in the recent years very fertile sources for unifying the people in different countries.

Further, during times of war the group becomes regressive. Alix Strachey shows how a perfectly honest man, who would not dream of keeping what is not his by rights, would strongly advocate a 'what we have we hold' colonial policy. Similarly a placid citizen becomes highly provoked when his country is disparaged or attacked. Many will risk comfort and wealth to go to the battle front to prevent aggression by the enemy. "Only a thoroughly anti-social adult says, 'Myself, right or wrong'; and even then, if he is wise, he says it to himself. And only a madman says 'I am always right'...The nationalist roundly asserts 'My country, right or wrong' and even 'My country is always right', without being deemed criminal or mad. Indeed, any man who thinks that his country is in the wrong, especially in its attitude to another country, is apt to be regarded by his fellows as wrong-headed or downright wicked" (9.202—3).

4. MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR

Eysenck wrote: "A complex phenomenon like war has obviously so many facets — sociological, anthropological, ethical, psychological — that there are great difficulties in assessing the relative importance of any particular point of view. Yet it may perhaps be claimed with some degree of justice that ultimately all causative influences must find themselves reflected in the individual attitudes towards war and personal aggressiveness which are built by social pressure, by teaching and propaganda, by personal precept, by childhood experience, by parental emotional conditioning, and thousand and one agencies which determine our outlook. Consequently the experimental study of the origin, growth, and structure of these attitudes represents an important contribution of social psychology to the investigation of the complex phenomena of war and peace" (8.49).

In 1938, Stagnor tried to study the factors relating to attitude towards war. He gave a questionnaire to various adult and college groups in the southern states of America.

He found that age was not of much importance but sex was to some extent. Women tended to give less militaristic replies than men, but the difference was not great. However, he found that political affiliation was a very significant factor : republicans were significantly more militaristic than democrats. People with military training were significantly more militaristic than those without such training. It was found that professional and labour groups were less militaristic than the average, while clerical and businessmen were more militaristic (20).

In a gallup poll in England a few years after the end of the Second World War the following question was asked : " Do you think that another world war is likely during the next twenty-five years ? " The general results were that 48% thought it likely, 31% thought it unlikely and 21% were undecided. However, interesting results emerged with further analysis. 61% of the well-to-do thought war likely while only 39% of the poorer class were of the same opinion. Further conservatives and liberals were more convinced of the likelihood of a third world war than the labour voters.

Thus, the attitudes towards some aspects of war are related to political affiliations and social classes.

Krout and Stagnor (21) tried to study personality development in radicals. They tried to test the hypothesis of the psychoanalytic school that the origin of aggression which finds expression in war and other kinds of social conflict can be traced to the childhood experience of the individual and the hypothesis of Dollard and others that frustration in any field serves as a source of aggressiveness. They found that attitudes favourable to revolt against established institutions were more frequent among those who had repressed aggression against the father. It was also found that radicals more frequently expressed a sense of rejection by their parents and more unhappiness in childhood than conservatives. In another investigation Stagnor (22) gave two sets of scales to various groups of students : one set to measure attitudes towards war, force, nationalism, fascism, intolerance, capital punishment and another set to measure attitudes towards father antagonism and childhood satisfaction. He found that antagonism to parents correlated negatively with all the social-aggressive attitudes.

It was found that the subjects who liked the father and did not like the mother scored highest on many of the aggressive scales, while preference for mother and dislike for father showed an anti-aggressive pattern. It was further found that the students who were satisfied with their childhood tended to be much more nationalistic-capitalistic than the students who were dissatisfied with their childhood. Stagnor also found that students who showed aggressive attitudes in one direction also tended to show them in other directions; the average inter-correlation was as high as 0.4 for various groups. Similarly Eysenck (23) and Ferguson (24) found that persons aggressive in one context were also aggressive in another context.

On the basis of large-scale correlational studies involving various groups and various social problems Eysenck believes that there are two orthogonal (uncorrelated) factors involved: (a) radicalism vs conservatism and (b) tough-minded vs tender-minded, R and T factors respectively. The items in the conservative-tough-minded quadrant comprise war-mindedness, anti-semitism, anti-coloured people, flogging criminals, capital punishment, another war in 25 years, nationalism. All these items indicate the presence of aggressiveness. According to this analysis aggressiveness is not a simple factor but a composite of what Eysenck calls two primary social attitudes. In the diagonally opposite quadrant involving the combination of radicalism and tender-mindedness are such items as pacifism, abolition of death penalty, curing criminals, giving up national sovereignty (8.56).

These studies show the need for a more thorough and exhaustive study of the genesis of war-mindedness in various countries of the world with differing cultures and ideologies. We can then find to what extent family patterns of child-upbringing, parental disharmony, parental, school and religious instruction, propaganda techniques, influence the growth of war-minded attitudes and pacifistic, non-violent attitudes. Studies are also necessary to determine the influence of age, sex, education, social class, job-satisfaction upon war-mindedness and peace-mindedness. We must also find the conditions which will promote the attitude of solving international problems by discussion rather than by resorting to methods of annihilating the people of the other country.

5. PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

As we have seen above one of the main conditions to start and continue a war is war-mindedness. The citizens of the country which declares the war should all feel that their country is right, that they are participating in a *dharma yuddha*. This involves looking at the enemy as engaged in *adharma yuddha* ; that the enemy country is cruel, rapacious, unreasonable, ignoble. Thus we find that psychological factors play as important a part, if not more important, as the physical equipment and armaments. This is why it is said that the first casuality of war is truth. When a country is engaged in war true evaluation of its strength and that of the enemy country will lead not to confidence but to its lack. It is overestimating one's strength and underestimating the enemy's strength that leads to courage and faith in one's country and its success.

In the 20th century mass media of communication are used in order to bolster up courage in one's country and undermine the courage of the opponents. As Kimball Young put it : " The chief aims of wartime propaganda are : (1) to mobilize and direct aggression and hatred against the enemy and to undermine and destroy his morale ; (2) to build up and preserve the fighting spirit of one's own country ; (3) to develop and preserve the friendship of one's allies ; (4) to foster the friendship of neutrals and, if possible, enlist their active support and co-operation in the war " (2.524). In the two world wars, each country engaged in war spent vast sums of money to build up its morale and to break down the morale of the enemy country through propaganda techniques. Steps are taken to build up strong and effective ingroup ideas, attitudes and values among the citizens in one's country. Slogans have strong appeal. Our country has good and honest intentions. The enemy's country is full of evil designs. Atrocity stories about the enemy countries are spread by every means of mass media. The aim in spreading the atrocity stories is to frighten and enrage the citizens and soldiers so that they can put forth more whole-hearted efforts to win the war. Similarly propaganda techniques are used in the enemy country to induce defeatism and despair among the soldiers and citizens. These psychological weapons were freely used by the British as well as the Germans.

In 1936 the German military authorities declared in an official handbook the aims of psychological warfare as follows : " The initial means of action is propaganda. Its aim is threefold : It will first belittle the strength of the enemy in the eyes of the world, seek to convince the enemy population of the hopelessness of their cause, arouse civil war behind the enemy line, and lure the enemy population into the belief that peace can be easily obtained. Second, it will convince the neutral countries of one's love of peace and the righteousness of one's own cause in contrast to the enemy who has broken international law and peace, and further lead the neutrals to believe that the enemy is a dangerous threat to them and to the society of nations and should be wiped out with their help. In the third place it will fortify the faith and confidence of one's own nation in victory and in the justice of one's cause, and induce the masses to exert all efforts to attain victory " (2.535).

In the first stages of World War II the Germans constantly broadcast to the French that they had no designs against them and that it was the British who dragged them into the war. The British housewives and labourers were told by the Nazi radio that the cost of living was going up by leaps and bounds and that there was mounting unemployment. The propaganda within Germany was that Germans were invincible, that the Nazi success was inevitable. Similarly to undermine the German morale, the British dropped counterfeit ration cards from the air, gave false ' official ' directions and thus confused the people in Germany and German-occupied countries. Later on when the United States joined the war, they set up an extensive foreign broadcasting system to undermine the German and the Japanese morale.

However, it must be realised that psychological weapons are of little use if they are not coordinated with the actual military events. When one's country loses a battle it is made out to be a trifling loss, but any success is magnified as a major event. Similarly when the soldiers enter a city the announcement is made that the city has been conquered. The phychological weapons work well when the perceptions about the actual situation are not clear, when the picture is in a confused state and when the people have no

confidence either in their leaders or in themselves.

6. MILITARY MORALE

Thus, the attitude of people towards their country and their leaders is a very important factor. Consequently the aim of psychological warfare is to make the people of one's own country have faith in themselves and in the war and make the people of the enemy country lose faith in themselves and in the war their country is waging. This is the problem of morale. We have already discussed the problem of group morale (Chapter IX). We can now consider the nature and function of military morale.

Morale consists of deep faith in and zeal for one's cause. It involves a pride in oneself, one's country, and one's companions. When a war is declared the citizens of the country, whether civilians or military personnel, should have a zest for combat, a readiness to fight the enemy, a readiness to lay down one's life for the preservation of the independence of one's country. In 1959 when the Chinese attacked the Indian police outposts in the western and eastern Himalayan regions, the students of the colleges in several parts of India congregated and declared their willingness to enlist in the army and help the government to throw out the aggressors. Morale also implies loyalty to the organization and complete obedience to the orders. In the army, or navy, or airforce, it implies a positive identification with the commander and the fellow members. Thus morale implies complete obedience to the official superiors and cooperation with the members of one's units to attain the military objective. Similarly civilian morale also depends on the faith of the citizens in the country's cause and a readiness to make sacrifices ; also a readiness to cooperate with the government, the members of the other political parties, and the military personnel : in other words, to cooperate with the country as a whole and to achieve its objective.

However, it must be realised that morale, like other qualities, reflects the cultural setting. In a country where there is a faith in the king as a ruler with divine sanction or in a country where there is a long tradition of military life and glorification of war, or in a country where the citizens feel that their way of life is sacred, the shift from

civilian life to military life is not a very difficult matter. Countries with martial traditions bring up their children with reverence for the country, the king and the military heroes. On the other hand in countries where individualism and personal choice are emphasised the shift from civilian to military life is very difficult. When they are emotionally excited ; people may declare that they are ready to fight and lay down their lives for the ' motherland '. But when they are asked to enlist themselves in the army or auxiliary corps for training, very few will come forward.

Thus in a country where individualism prevails there will be on the one hand a desire for personal safety (or a fear for one's personal safety) and also a moral conflict. The children are brought up with the norm that injuring others and killing others is wrong. The legal norms prescribe death for killing in peace time. However, when the country declares war, killing the enemy becomes a ' sacred duty '. Thus there will be a keen conflict between the ideals of non-violence engendered in peace time and the realities of violence. However, in countries where children are brought up under martial traditions such conflicts will not exist. The martial groups in India like the Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas are more ready to join the army than in other parts of the country. Before Independence many Indians denounced this as an imperialist game.

Military morale thus involves several kinds of learnings. The soldier has to learn to kill other human beings. He learns this by his long training and indoctrination ; it is through indoctrination that he learns to deal with his sense of guilt that is ordinarily associated with killing others. He has to learn to react to danger and attack in a positive way rather than by fear and flight. There is the famous Rajput story of medieval times according to which the wife refused to recognize as her husband the man who ran away from the battlefield. Military people have also to learn to put up with all sorts of deprivation. They have also to be away from their families for a number of months or even years. They have no choice either regarding work or recreation when they are on the battle front. They have to learn to obey without questioning. Consequently training programmes are a special feature of military life. The habit of obeying orders is thoroughly fixed in the soldiers as well

as in the officers through daily parades. They become indurate, hard, unfeeling or even callous by special training programmes and indoctrination. Battle conditions are simulated in manoeuvres. Here the soldier learns, not only to face hardship and fatigue, but also team work. The soldier is trained to develop a strong 'ingroup' feeling, *esprit de corps*, the sense of pride in one's squad, platoon and company. In training as well as in the battle front, good food and comforts and recreational facilities are provided. Further there is expert medical care. The very presence of expert surgeons and physicians restores confidence. Another very important feature which increases morale is the awareness that one's equipment is superior to enemy's equipment. This is why there is constant progress in the technology. New equipment is given so that the military people feel that they are well fortified with the latest equipment.

We may now proceed to review briefly the factors that make for low morale. As we have already seen the fundamental factor generating low morale is fear. Morale is destroyed by fear. This is where we find that good officers play a very important part. Officers who are inexperienced or who are indifferent to the welfare of the men destroy the morale. Similarly if the officer feels that the unit cannot succeed or cope with the situation the morale breaks down. Jhansi Lakshmi Bai was able to restore the morale of an army in flight by her personal courage and example. A good officer is one who can share with the soldiers, their joys, sorrows and hardships, maintaining discipline at the same time. Another condition which leads to low morale is deprivation. Long marches, lack of adequate rest and sleep, insufficient food, inadequate comforts are all part of military life. If officers as well as the men suffer the hardships there will be equanimity. Steps have to be taken to counteract the feeling of isolation and loneliness which will inevitably creep in because of homesickness. The deleterious effects of these situations can be minimised by the fatherly behaviour of the officers and the maintenance of communication with the homes. Uncertainty and surprise will also lower the morale. Because the soldier does not know when and where and how the enemy will strike he may start imagining. Many rumours may spread and these fantasies are

communicated. In fact the spread of rumours is a concrete evidence of low morale. Most of the rumours are either based on wish-fulfilment or on fear. Consequently the officer can learn a good deal about the hopes and fears of the men by studying the rumours current. A more serious evidence of low morale is panic. As we have already seen panic is a mass phenomenon. Suddenly the entire group may be gripped with fear. Panic may be prevented by sound indoctrination and adequate training ; confidence in leadership must be restored. However, if panic does break out severe measures may have to be adopted quickly. Often force can restore order and confidence ; but prevention is better. While panic is momentary and can be averted with due alertness, mutiny is a more serious and long-standing sign of low morale. Mutiny involves planning.

In modern warfare civilian morale is as important as military morale. With increased mechanization and with the development of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) the distance between battle front and the home front is annihilated. By air bombardment the civilian is as much exposed to strain, stress and danger of losing life as the man in the battle front. Consequently the civilian should have as much faith in and zest for his country's cause as the soldier. He must also be ready to sacrifice for the success of his country. Low civilian morale is characterised by apathy with regard to war. There will be a sense of personal remoteness. The people may be more eager to demand their rights and may neglect their duties. They may also have a belief that conditions under the enemy rule may not be worse than what is present. They may even welcome the enemy. This is actually what happened in many of the Asian countries after 1943 during the Second World War. As the countries were under the colonial rule of the Western powers, they did not mind a change of masters and actually welcomed the Japanese occupation. There is yet another manifestation during wartime. As we have noticed earlier, there will be increased employment which leads to a rise in national income. But the production will be for war purposes. It is estimated that about 60% of production in Great Britain and about 50% in U.S. in 1943 was of war goods. This is inevitable. But this means that there will be decrease in consumer goods just

when there is a demand for them due to increase in income and full employment. This will lead to inflation. This is the reason why during war time there will be fixation of price as well as wages, leading to rationing. When the civilian morale is high the country becomes austere and cheerfully accepts the deprivations in the same way in which the military people will accept their deprivations. However, if the civilian morale is low there will be emotional reactions against the government and rationing regulations. Thus resentment of rationing is a sign of low morale.

Psychological bases of peace

The preamble to the constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) asserts : " Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed ".

1. INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS

Wars arise because of international tensions. These tensions may be expressed in many forms : feelings of hatred and aggressiveness leading to attacks in the press and the radio. When there are problems between two nations, the background of ethnocentrism leads to tensions. People of each country are brought up with certain stereotypes about themselves and the other nations of the world. Patriotism, the love of one's country, may easily, and does usually, lead people to ethnocentric beliefs. Adorno and his co-workers (25) have shown that ethnocentric individuals, who have an exaggerated tendency to think that their own group or race is far superior to other groups or races, are indiscriminately antagonistic toward Jews, Negroes and foreigners. They tend to be conservative in their general attitude and support *status quo*. They tend to admire power and scorn the underdog. Because of their general concern about status, they deny equal status to others. " The inferior position of foreigners and minority groups gives them a sense of security, and tends to keep their personalities integrated " (26.202). Because of these attitudes the people as well as the leaders become hostile to the other country. As Stagnor puts it : " The specific pattern of violence called war is an

expression of trends clearly observable during peace " (27).

2. DIFFERENT FORMS OF TENSION-REDUCTION

When there is tension between two countries, tension-reduction may take one of the following three alternative actions : Withdrawal and isolation from one another or realignment of relationships and creation of ' blocs ' among nations or, finally, war (28.581). However, with the tremendous improvements in means of communication ; withdrawal and isolation are impossible. As we have seen earlier, psychological warfare may be carried on through press, radio, and distribution of pamphlets from the air. This is the reason why we find out there is the tendency towards the formation of power blocs today. Countries like India which have not joined either the Anglo-American bloc or the Sino-Russian bloc are looked upon with suspicion by both sides.

After a good deal of attacks and counterattacks in the press and on the radio, the leaders as well as the citizens of each country tend to perceive the situation in only one way ; they are certain that war is the only solution. They are unable to realise that international conflict is no solution to the problem. But no other solution occurs to them in that state of mind. Long ago the author of the *Bhagavad Gita* pointed out that an individual who is overpowered by his desires and by aggressiveness is completely ruined (29). " An intense desire, reinforced in this manner, inevitably leads to wrath and aggression. A desire of this variety can never be fully satisfied ; it .will lead to frustration and in turn to aggression. When a man is full of aggressive tendencies he becomes deluded, and loses sense of reality. When a man is deluded he forgets himself, he is unable to recall who he is, and what he is doing ; he is no longer his normal self. When he loses his memory, he loses the ideals for which he stands, the social norms that he has internalised, all sense of discrimination, all sense of what is right and what is wrong ; his action will have no touch with reality, it will be completely Id-directed. The ruin of reason and discrimination spells utter destruction. None can save a person who has thus lost control over himself " (30.5—6). However, the attitude that the citizens should have when they are faced with an international

crisis is the problem-solving attitude. Prejudices and hostilities will not help to attain this attitude. As Krech and Crutchfield assert : " Cognitive reorganization is likely to be hindered by high levels of emotionality. When the needs are very strong and the emotions intense, cognitive structure is rigid. Unfortunately, strong needs and intense emotions are invariably characteristic of people facing international crises " (28.600). Adaptive solutions need a calm and unprejudiced mind. But when a country is faced by aggressiveness there is fear ; the greater the fear, the less adaptive and realistic will the solutions be and they in their turn will generate more fear. Fear plays a very important role in aggressive behaviour. Hence Gandhi's insistence on non-violence. It is only the courageous that can be non-violent (31.28).

3. INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDE

Wars arise between nations. When other nations identify themselves with any two warring nations there is global war. The 20th century is a century of world wars. One war-making nation can disrupt the peace of the whole world. Consequently many thinkers denounce nationalism. However, it must be realised that no social institution is wholly useless. Nationalism and patriotism are not by themselves dangerous to world peace. Nationalism makes for greater cohesion and disinterested service. It is when nationalistic attitudes " are found together with intense negative attitudes toward other countries and *in the absence of strong internationalist attitudes*, the situation is conducive to international tensions and war rather than to peace and unity " (28.596). The nationalistic attitudes should not lead to ethnocentrism and negative attitudes towards the foreign countries. Steps must be taken to develop among the leaders as well as citizens an international attitude. New social institutions which are not only international in outlook but generating *visvaprema*, love and tenderness to all people in all countries of the world, have to be started. UNO and various international organizations like UNESCO, WHO, FAO are all promoting this outlook. Cultural exchanges, facilities for foreign travel, international conferences are all helping to strengthen nationalistic as well as internationalistic outlook. Malaria control, mental

hygiene and a number of such problems are studied by international teams of scientists working under WHO. There are many, many problems which are really world problems ; they are the same in every country of the world. Exchange of scholars, international teams studying problems and international conferences discussing them will help to solve them with greater ease and certainty.

4. THE NEW OUTLOOK TOWARDS UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Another very hopeful feature in the world situation, as we have already observed, is the new outlook towards the problems of poverty and malnutrition. While in the nineteenth century the richer and more powerful nations were expanding their colonies to increase their markets, the two world wars have now generated a new outlook in mid-twentieth century. The more prosperous countries are now interested in helping the underdeveloped countries to raise their living standards. Through loans and aid programmes the 'haves' are now helping the 'have nots'.

5. PROGRESS IN TECHNOLOGY AND CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAR

Finally atomic fission and development of rockets are bringing about changes in the attitudes of the powerful countries to one another. With the increase in destructive potentiality, man is becoming more sane. By gaining utter power to annihilate, man is coming nearer to renounce the power. Man cannot afford Id-behaviour with rockets and atomic piles. Groups, like individuals, have to renounce their power to strike, and submit to the reign of law ; anger must give place to understanding. Man is now developing a world outlook and *visvaprema*, not because of idealistic and moralistic considerations but because of realistic considerations. Rapid developments in technology in the mid-twentieth century have brought about this change of outlook. The prospects for peace are now far better than what they were a quarter of a century ago.

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INDEX

INDEX